



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

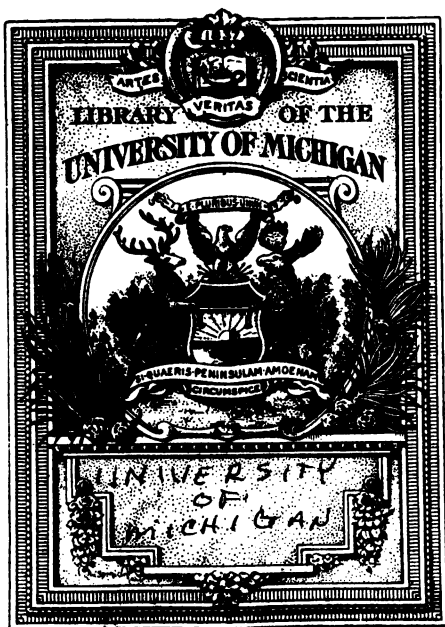
Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

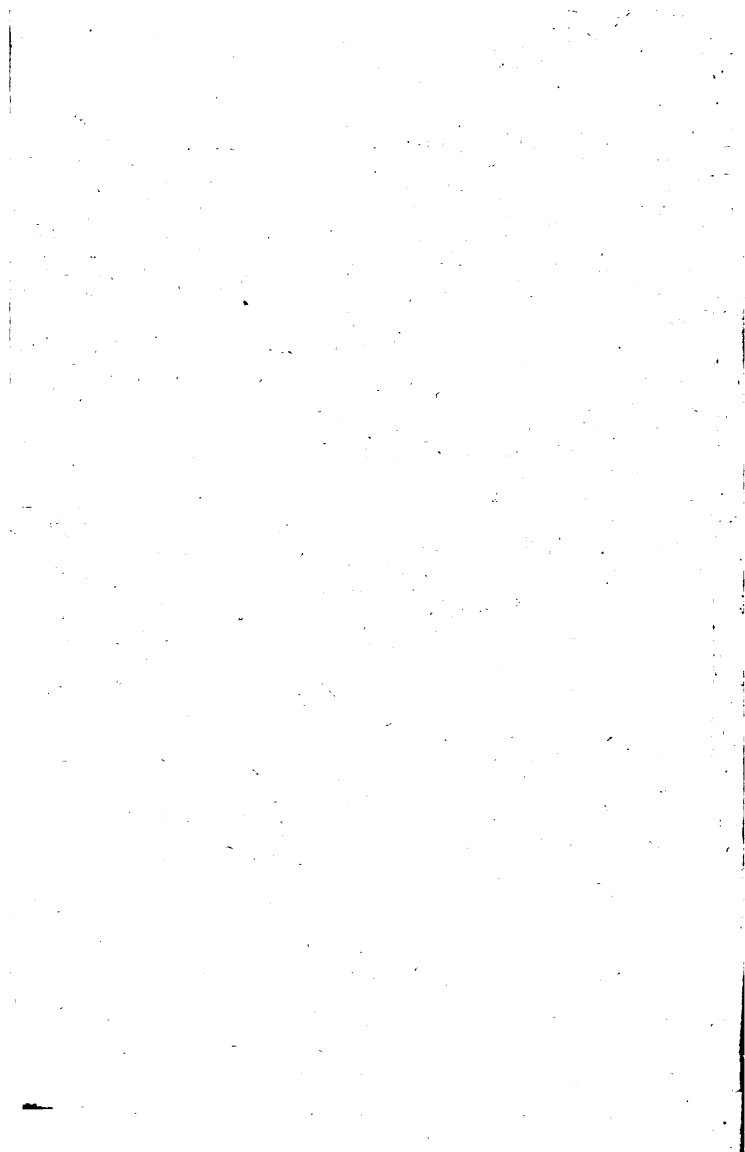
Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>

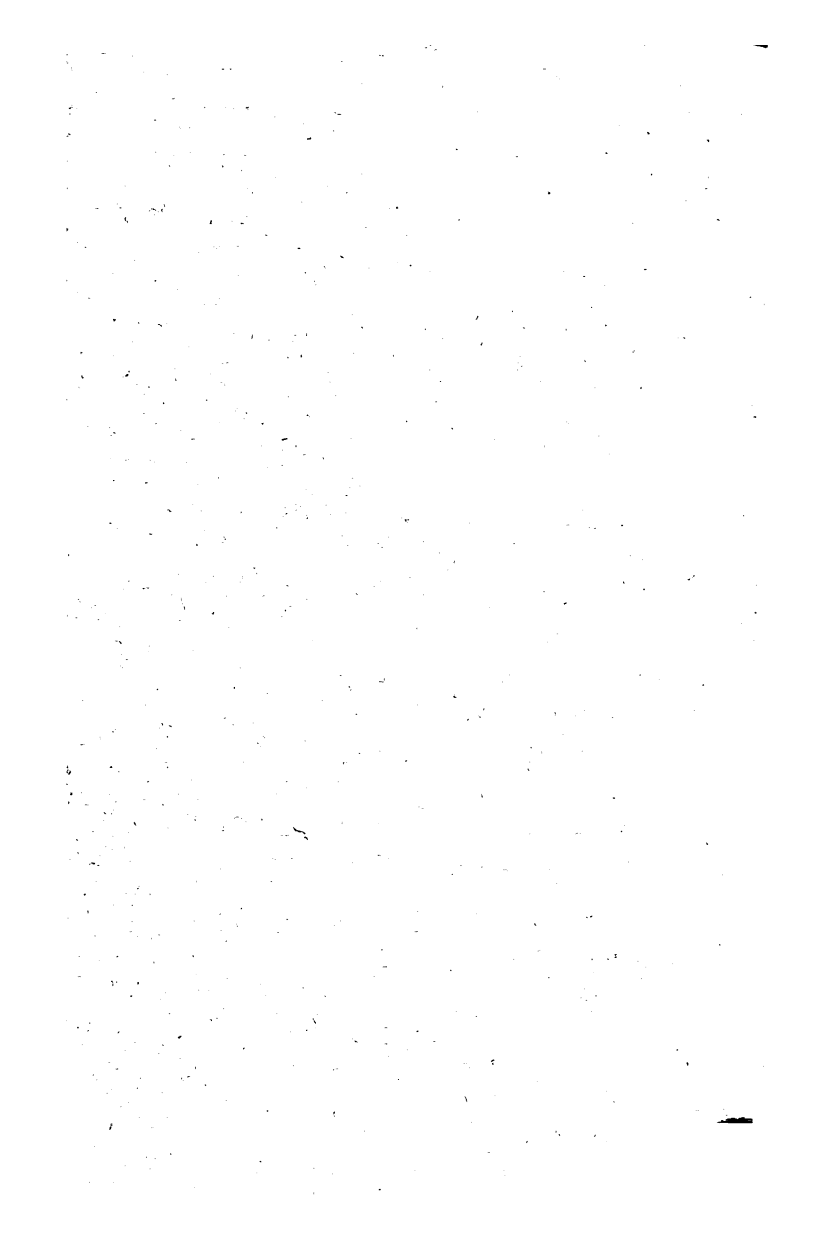


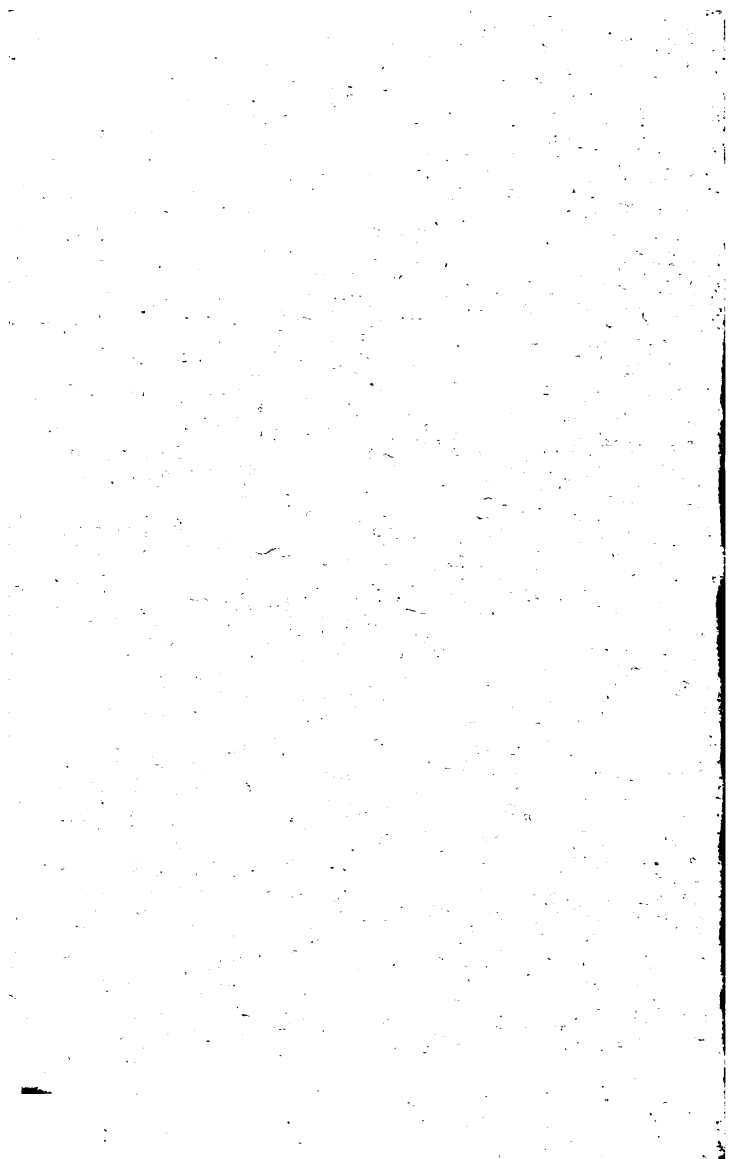
BF

107

, G78







Gray, Robert, Esq. of Bristol
THE

THEORY OF DREAMS:

IN WHICH

AN INQUIRY

IS MADE INTO

THE POWERS AND FACULTIES

OF THE

HUMAN MIND,

AS THEY ARE ILLUSTRATED IN THE

MOST REMARKABLE DREAMS

RECORDED IN

SACRED AND PROFANE HISTORY.

— — — — —

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I

— — — — —

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR T. C. AND J. RIVINGTON,
NO. 62, ST. PAUL'S CHURCH-YARD.

1808.

Printed by Law and Gilbert, St. John's Square, Clerkenwell.

01 Feb 13 9.53.

P R E F A C E.

You, while you are awake, sleep; and as you sleep, dream,

Tu vigilans dormis, &c. *Hieron. Epist.*

THE Author of the following little Work begs leave to enter his caveat against all sarcastic strictures on the title of his Book, and requests that he may not be accused, as was Vigilantius,

(for the sake of the play upon his name probably,) by St. Jerom, of writing in waking slumbers; because at a time so awful as the present, when every day teems with great events, and the fate of empires, he has employed his thoughts on Dreams; for, in truth, the fearful importance of the scenes which now interest the attention of mankind, as they only harass and afflict the mind, affording it no prospect of speedy relief, lead him to have recourse to speculative inquiries, with a view of receding from gloomy reflections, promising himself, as did Livy, when he projected his History, "the consolation of with-

7.

v

drawing from the sight of evils which prevail."

That the subject may afford some little entertainment, and even instruction to the reader, is the Author's earnest hope: with this view he has collected, with much industry, whatever might throw light upon it, even to the admission of more accounts than have any strict claim to regard, that he may not appear to have neglected any dreams to which importance has been attached; and he has endeavoured to enliven the remarks which he has produced by the most apposite instances which could illustrate the theme, and

o)

often by poetical quotations, wishing to erect an altar, like that mentioned by Pausanias, on which sacred rites were performed, at the same time, to the Muses and to Sleep.

ERRATA.

VOL. I.

- Page 12, line 2, for *by* read *for*
 — 12, — 5, for *here* read *there*
 — 15, — 1 and 2 from bottom, for *farther continued*
 read *experienced*
 — 20, — 3, after *occasion* add *bidding him to express his*
 anger to the senate
 — 23, — 18, dele *that*
 — 45, — 2 from bottom, for *and* read *who*
 — 149, — 7, for *preaching* read *practising*
 — 152, for *Dinasbrunc* read *Dinasbranc*
 — 161, — 8, for *Sfertia* read *Sfortia*

CONTENTS.

VOLUME I.

CHAPTER I.

	Page
On Dreams and their Distinctions - - -	1

CHAPTER II.

Concerning Dreams related in profane Accounts of ancient History - - - -	11
---	----

CHAPTER III.

Concerning other Dreams related in profane Ac- counts of ancient History - - - -	27
---	----

CHAPTER IV.

Farther Remarks on Dreams mentioned in ancient History - - - - -	34
---	----

CHAP-

viii

CHAPTER V.

On other ancient Dreams of a miscellaneous Character	50
--	----

CHAPTER VI.

On ancient Dreams, connected with impending Death	70
---	----

CHAPTER VII. 83

CHAPTER VIII.

Of inspired Dreams which were rendered subservient to Divine Revelation, and contributed to the Establishment and support of the Hebrew Dispensation	109
--	-----

CHAPTER IX.

On inspired Dreams which contributed to the Confirmation and Advancement of the Gospel	125
--	-----

CHAPTER X.

On Dreams subsequent to the Establishment of Christianity, which have no Title to be considered as inspired	129
---	-----

CHAPTER XI.

On other Dreams related in modern Accounts	155
--	-----

THE
THEORY
OF
DREAMS, &c.

CHAPTER I.

ON DREAMS AND THEIR DISTINCTIONS.

When to soft sleep the members are resigned,
And without sense the body lies reclined;
Inward some living spirit still displays
Its active energies a thousand ways;
Feels Joy's quick impulse, its emotions strong,
And all the cares which to the heart belong.

LUCRET. l. 3. v. 113. Præterea, &c.

THERE is perhaps no subject of equal interest which has been so little methodically treated as that of Dreams. In conversation they are frequently the theme of transient remark, and

vague discussion; but there are very few regular dissertations concerning them, though it might be supposed that what so much tends to illustrate the powers and faculties of the human mind, would have engaged attentive consideration.

The reason of this neglect indeed cannot easily be discovered: whether it be, that the wide range which the prospect opens seems to tempt rather desultory and discursive flight, than steady and systematic enquiry, or that the indistinct notions which are usually entertained in hasty speculation, appear to preclude the hope of clear and satisfactory decision, the projector of the present treatise attempts not to determine; but he is of opinion that much curious information may be collected on the subject, and that some important conclusions may be deduced from a general view of the considerations which are connected with it. In the Essay, which the author designs to compose, it will not be expected that he should embrace the whole scope of the argument; it will be

sufficient if he throw out some general principles, and confirm his remarks by a reference to some of those dreams, both ancient and modern, which have excited the chief attention.

In order to assist our examination of that variety of matter which will demand our notice, it may be useful to advert to the distinctions under which the different kinds of dreams have been characterized in general description by preceding writers.

The first distinction laid down by Macrobius, an ancient author, refers to what is properly called a dream *, which he regards as a figurative and mysterious representation that requires to be interpreted. An example of this is furnished by Dion Cassius †, who states that Nero dreamt that he saw the chair of Jove pass into the palace of Vespasian, which was considered as emblematical of the translation of the empire to Nero.

* *Oniroi*, *somnium*.

† L. lxi.

The second relates to what is termed vision *, which was understood to obtain, when any one saw that which afterwards came to pass in the same manner that it was foreseen. A friend, for instance, acting in the same circumstances, as in reality the next morning he may be found to do.

The third sort is what the ancients conceived to be oracular †, and what they described as taking place, when in sleep a parent or priest, or venerable person or deity, denounced what was or was not to happen, or what should be done or avoided; an instance of which is said to have occurred to Vespasian, who, when a private man in Achaia, dreamt that a person unknown assured him, that his prosperity should begin as soon as Nero should lose a tooth: in completion of which he was shewn on the next day a tooth just drawn from the emperor; soon after which Nero's death took place, as likewise that of Galba, and discord

* Ὀραμα, visio.

† Χρηματισμός, oraculum.

broke out between Otho and Vitellius, which facilitated Vespasian's ascent to the throne *.

An impressive example is also furnished by Virgil, who represents the disfigured shade of Hector to have appeared to Æneas on the night on which the Grecians took possession of Troy, exhorting him to escape from the flames of the city already falling to destruction.

These were supposed to rise under the influence of inspiration: Cicero considers them as particularly suited to temples, and we are told, that the leaders of the Lacedemonians were accustomed to lie down in the temple of Pasithea, in expectation of such oracular suggestions, in which they trusted as infallibly true †. They are here produced only by way of illustration.

* Sueton. Vespas. Dion. Cass. L. lxvi.

† Cicero de Divin. L. i, §. 43.

The fourth is the *Insomnium* *, which Macrobius represents as some solicitude of an oppressed mind, body, or fortune, which, as it harassed us when awake, so it affects us in our sleep; as for instance, when a lover finds himself possessed or deprived of the object of his affections; or when any one under apprehensions of some insidious enemy seems to have fallen into his power, or to have escaped from it. With respect to the body, when a person filled with wine, or distended with food, fancies himself either strangled with repletion, or suddenly relieved; or when, on the contrary, a man hungry or thirsty appears to desire, or to seek, or to find, food or liquor: lastly, with respect to fortune, when any one seems, according to his hopes or fears, to be elevated to or degraded from power and high stations.

These dreams were considered by the ancients as especially deceitful and vain †, as

* *Ἑνύπνιον*.

† *ψευδὴς ὄνειρος*, Sophocles.

leaving no significant impression; they are spoken of by Virgil as those

" Fallacious dreams which ghosts to earth transmit *,"

and are directly opposite to the dreams which Persius describes as

" Visions purg'd from phlegm †,"

and which were considered as sent from the gods, and not proceeding from humours of the body.

Petronius Arbiter, or rather Epicurus, thus describes the Insomnium with discrimination from the oracle.

The fleeting spectres which in dreams arise
Come not from temples, or indulgent skies;
The mind creates them, when its powers uncheck'd
May sport, and leave the body in neglect.

* Falsa ad cælum mittunt insomnia manes. Virgil. Æneid. l. vi. The earth is here mentioned as heaven, in relation to the lower regions, in which the dead were supposed to be.

† Sat. ii. v. lvii.

The hero sees disorder'd legions fly,
 And helpless monarchs bath'd in slaughter die,
 Renews the war, besieged towns assails,
 With sword and flames the lofty fortress scales.
 In visionary courts the lawyers spar,
 And convicts tremble at th' ideal bar.
 Still o'er his hidden gold the miser quakes,
 The sportsman still with dogs the woodlands shakes :
 The skilful mariner the vessel saves,
 Or buffets, from the wreck escap'd, the waves.
 All that affection breathes by love is penn'd,
 And tokens sent which love delights to send.
 Ev'n dogs in sleep the same impression bear,
 And tongue the scented footsteps of the hare.
 The wretched must the wounds of mis'ry feel,
 Though night's still influence on the world should steal *.

Macrobius illustrates the Phantasm, which is the fifth sort, and which is styled Visus by Cicero, as that which takes place between waking and sleeping, as it does in the first clouds of sleep, when the person who begins to doze, thinking himself awake, imagines that he sees forms differing in shape and magnitude from natural objects rushing upon him, and wandering about ; or any strange confusion of

* Petron. Arbit. p. 178. Somnia quæ mentes, &c.

things, cheerful or distressing. Under this class he places the Ephialtes, or night-mare, which common opinion supposes to invade persons when asleep, and *to load and incommode them* by the weight.

Macrobius represents the Phantasm and the Insomnium as little deserving of attention, conceiving them to furnish no subject of divination or assistance in the discovery of futurity: popular superstition, however, seems to have regarded the night-mare as capable of predicting.

Macrobius, in his description, has not included visions which were supposed to be seen in the day, when the senses were awake, several of which are recorded in the fabulous relations of ancient history, as that of the appearance of Romulus, who is said to have presented himself in glittering armour, and with an aspect more bright and august than when living, to Julius Proculus, a patrician of distinguished character, as he was travelling on the public road, and to have assured him of the future

power and prosperity of Rome * : and another example was furnished in the apparition which appeared to Tarchetius, king of the Albans, and which was feigned to have been the father of Romulus †. Those, indeed, come under the general idea of visions, treated of in the second definition of Macrobius, differing from them only as they occurred in the day; but, properly speaking, they should be distinguished as being imparted to persons whose senses were awake.

A more simple distribution of dreams than that of Macrobius was adopted by those who divided them only into two sorts—plain and allegorical: the former including such as exhibited things in their own form ‡; the latter such as intimated circumstances under similitudes.

* Plutarch. in Romul.

† Ibid.

‡ *ἑωυτοειδῆ* — things which appeared in their own likeness.

CHAPTER II.

CONCERNING DREAMS RELATED IN PROFANE ACCOUNTS OF ANCIENT HISTORY.

It is certain there is a very great affinity between the passion of superstition, and that of tales. The love of strange narrations, and the ardent appetite towards unnatural objects, has a near alliance with the like appetite towards the supernatural kind, such as are called prodigious and of dire omen.—*Shaftesbury's Advice to an Author*, vol. i. p. 235.

IF restricting our present attention to these dreams, which are recorded in profane history, we examine their character and pretension, with reference to the distinction laid down in the preceding chapter, we find ourselves necessarily involved in the question whether we may consider it as a part of God's general moral government to furnish mankind with dreams predictive of future events, or whether we are

to regard prophetic dreams as reserved in the exclusive service of Revelation, by the testimony of its claims, and for the communication of its instruction.

Here is one obvious consideration which should lead us to suppose, that dreams have not been employed by God in the ordinary course of his providence for the conveyance of information concerning future events to mankind, which is, that he has not furnished any general direction to us to confide in them, or any principles for the interpretation of them; and it seems difficult to conceive that he should impart communications of his will without any sanction of authority to command respect, or any ground for explaining what is ambiguous.

The dreams recorded by profane writers, ancient as well as modern, are, as to their general character, so wild and indeterminate, and so seldom capable of any exact and appropriate interpretation, in consistency with

those convictions which we derive from Revelation, that there are few accounts which have the slightest pretensions to be considered as tending to establish the idea of there being any thing prophetic in ordinary dreams, or of their having resulted from divine suggestion; and no relation as to inspiration can be received as having an unquestionable claim to acceptance, excepting those which are furnished in the Scriptures, and which respect dreams connected with the great scheme of Revelation.

It is possible indeed that dreams, though resulting from the ordinary powers of the mind in sleep, may by their impression and effects be rendered subservient to purposes of salutary tendency, may awaken reflection, or lead to the confession of crimes; but the point, which there seems to be ground to dispute, is that of their immediate inspiration, since they do not appear to be divine suggestions; to require implicit confidence, or to justify extraordinary precautions.

There are, it is true, some few dreams mentioned in profane history, which as they seem calculated only to intimate the general superintendence of a Supreme Being, and the general vigilance of his government, approving distinguished virtues, and abhorring flagitious crimes, do not contradict any declared maxims of Divine Wisdom; and which have been therefore thought to have some pretensions to be ranked among those general notices of himself, which God might vouchsafe to the heathen world, and have contributed to confirm the opinions of those persons who regard dreams as divine communications constituting a part of God's universal and permanent government.

One of this description was much celebrated among the Stoics. Simonides, of whom other wonderful stories are related, having, we are told, performed the friendly office of sepulture to a dead body which he had found on a coast to which he had sailed, was admonished in a dream by the object of his pious care, not to

depart the next day, in deference to which admonition he remained on shore, while those who sailed were wrecked in his sight. The poet, it is said, in grateful remembrance of his escape, afterwards composed a poem as a lasting monument of praise to his benefactor*.

The other which is related by Cicero served a purpose equally worthy of the interference of a superior power. It represents two Arcadian friends travelling together to have arrived at Megara, one of whom took up his abode at an inn, the other at a friend's house. The latter in his first sleep appeared to behold his friend entreating assistance against his host, who was preparing to murder him; in his alarm he startled up, but on reflection thinking that the dream did not merit attention, he composed himself, till his friend again appeared, requiring, that since he had not farther continued any succour while living, his death

* Valerius Maxim. L. i. C. 7. de Somniis. See also De Miraculis, L. i. C. 8.

might not remain unrevenged ; informing his fellow traveller, that he had been murdered, and that his body had been thrown into a cart and covered with dung, and directing him to go in the morning to the gate of the city. On obeying the instruction, the friend met a carter, who, when interrogated, fled in terror ; the body was discovered in a cart, and the innkeeper brought to justice *.

Both of these dreams had certainly a beneficial and sufficient purpose to answer, and if we could consider inspired dreams as constituting a part of the general system of God's moral government, they might be received as of divine suggestion.

But there are so few of this character, that they will not authorize any general conclusion of inspiration, and indeed they may be accounted for on other grounds. The former of

* Cicero De Divin. L. ii. §. 68. Diod. Sic. L. xvii. P. 575.

the dreams here mentioned might have been accidental. It was not miraculous that Simonides, exulting in the performance of an office of consideration, to which great merit was attached in ancient times, should in his sleep contemplate the person whom he had buried solicitous for his safety; and on the eve of departure on a perilous voyage, fancy that he admonished him not to sail in a vessel which eventually was wrecked.

The latter appears to have been too precise for any casual coincidence between the dream and the event, but the authority on which it is related does not preclude scepticism; there is among men a disposition to marvellous tales; what fiction will invent, credulity will receive, and exaggeration magnify; the story was, perhaps, at first fabricated, and then copied from writer to writer; no period or names are assigned to the relation. It seems not to have produced any conviction on Cicero, who records it among other accounts, as casual.

If we are indisposed to receive these, there are some which, upon stronger grounds, may be rejected, since they imply a revelation without sufficient object, or have a pernicious tendency ; and it must be inconsistent with the divine attributes to have conveyed intimations of futurity to those who had no ground to respect them, and could derive no instruction from them, and still more unreasonable is it to suppose God to have imparted any that were calculated to confirm fallacious systems of religion, or to subvert the eternal laws of moral wisdom.

Upon these considerations we need not hesitate to reject those accounts which are connected with the superstitions of antiquity, and calculated to strengthen a belief in the existence of the heathen deities ; such may be considered as crafty inventions devised for some purpose of interest or policy.

When the temple dedicated to Jupiter Tonans by Augustus, of which the beautiful

columns are still to be seen near the Capitol at Rome, became so much frequented as to draw off the votaries of Jupiter Capitolinus, Augustus superstitiously dreamt, (or in artful compliance with the suggestions of interested priests, pretended to dream), that Jupiter Capitolinus expostulated with him, in resentment for being degraded into a second rank by the neglect which he suffered, and received for answer from the emperor, that he had placed Jupiter Tonans as a sentinel to Jupiter Capitolinus; and, in consequence, on the next day a bell, such as sentinels use in cases of alarm, was hung up in the temple of Capitoline Jove*.

Another instance which respected the public religion of the country, is related by Valerius Maximus, Livy, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, and others†, who inform us, that Jupiter being

* Dion. Cass. L. liv.

† Valerius Maxim. L. i. C. 7. de Somniis. Plutarch. in C. Marc. Coriolan. Livy, L. ii. §. 36.

offended by the punishment of a slave in the forum, in sight of a public procession, signified to Titus Atinius his displeasure on the occasion. On the dream being slighted, the son of Atinius was struck with death, and he himself afterwards deprived of the use of his limbs, for neglecting the divine command; till, at length, being roused to obedience, he was carried on a couch to the senate, and after the delivery of his message, perceived a recovery of his strength, and, to the surprise of all present, walked home without any assistance.

Sergius Galba having prepared a rich diamond necklace to adorn the statue of Fortune at Tusculum, and afterwards, on changing his mind, presented it to the Capitoline Venus, was visited in the succeeding night by the image of Fortune, threatening him, that as she had been defrauded of the destined present, so she should soon take away what she had conferred upon him; soon after which, says the story, Galba died*.

* Fulgorius.

Upon these and similar relations we have to observe, that as it is not probable that God would suffer the reverence of mankind to be excited in favour of the fictitious deities of the heathen world, by any miraculous suffrage to the opinion of their existence, we must be inclined to consider these dreams as having merely a casual reference to historical circumstances; or perhaps as fictitious inventions intended to raise surprise, or respect, for the worship and ceremonies of pagan superstition.

Upon similar considerations, we should be inclined to discredit the relation which is given of the repeated appearances of Hercules to Sophocles, to point out the person who had stolen a golden patera from his temple; on the conviction of whom the temple was said to have been dedicated to Hercules, the discoverer*.

* Heywood's Hier. L. iv. p. 224.

Even those persons who assent to the inspiration of dreams which had a beneficial tendency, must reject such as contradict the sure principles of religion, and involve consequences inconsistent with the declared doctrines of Scripture, since certainly to represent the power of inspiration to have contributed to advance the gloom, and strengthen the fetters of superstition, must be deemed injurious to the attributes of that Being, whose jealous wisdom is understood to delight in the progress of truth, and who seems to have challenged the works and energies of preternatural power and knowledge, in exclusive support of the evidence and claims of true religion.

It may be said, perhaps, that we are authorized by sacred instruction to maintain, that the Almighty has often judged it right to display his resentment against gross and flagrant wickedness, by suffering its followers to be infatuated in the delusions of their own vanity, and hardened in the obstinacy of their wilful

error ; subjecting them sometimes not only to the arts and wicked contrivances of interested men, but also to the imposing miracles and malignant deceptions of superior beings ; and that as the wonders which God permitted the magicians of Egypt to perform contributed to aggravate the perverseness of Pharaoh, so dreams and oracles might, as Justin Martyr * supposed, be purposely suffered, at the suggestion of evil spirits, to mislead those who, disregarding the simple evidence of a stupendous and well-regulated creation, which never ceased to bear testimony to the government of an intelligent and benevolent God, plunged themselves into the depths of a profligate and licentious idolatry.

Whatever force we may allow to this argument, we cannot suppose, that when God was not particularly offended, and when the dreams which were furnished actually afforded deliver-

* Apol. C. i.

ance, that they were designed to be instrumental to the punishment of general error. It is an arrangement undoubtedly consistent with general and equitable laws, that the punishment of sins should result from the indulgence of evil, as Saul, when he wished to break through the appointed and acknowledged decrees of God, by having recourse to those necromantic arts which he himself had discountenanced as superstitious, heard his fatal sentence uttered with unerring truth; and as Ahab was justly seduced by an evil spirit, when he refused to listen to any prophet who predicted not "smooth things" unto him; still however it is utterly improbable, that communications of divine mercy should have been designed to be merely subservient to the establishment of error. If the dream, which was said to have been imparted to Stilpo, had any foundation in truth, it should seem to have been designed to check the spirit of offering up expensive oblations to the heathen deities. The account represents him to have dreamt, that he saw

Neptune expostulating with him for not having immolated an ox to him, as was the custom of the priests. Upon which he remonstrated with the deity, for coming like a child, to complain to him, that he had not filled the city with the smoke of an expensive sacrifice, when he had done what his circumstances would admit: upon which the god extended his hand to him with a smile in proof of approbation, and promised that, on his account, he would afford a plentiful supply of water to the Megarensians*.

Upon the whole then, however unwilling to weaken any impressions which may be conceived to have even an indirect tendency to promote moral purposes, the author conceives, that there is little or nothing to be collected from the history of heathen antiquity, which can be allowed to establish the supposition of dreams being prophetic; and perhaps

* Plutarch. Vol. i.

indeed it will be judged, on reflection, that any advantage which might occasionally result from a belief of the interference of the Supreme Being in the suggestion of dreams, would be more than counterbalanced by the erroneous apprehensions and superstitious fears which such a persuasion would engender.

folded the scenes of futurity for the consolation and encouragement of faith, for the attestation to character, and for the manifestation of God's councils. The threats and the promises, which they disclosed, were for adequate purposes, and sometimes suspended on conditions and revocable decrees, they were given with the evidence and clear manifestation of truth, were attested by signs, and explained to those who had reason to look to their completion, and to hope or to tremble without the imputation of credulity.

But the dreams, mentioned by heathen writers, were delivered to persons who had often no especial claim to divine attention, and who had no reason to respect them till some correspondent event awakened regard.

If Alcibiades dreamt that he was clad in the robe of his mistress, which a few days after was affectionately wrapped round his unburied and neglected body; or if, as other writers represent, he dreamt that he was beheaded by

Magæus, we cannot perceive that any useful warning was designed. So if when Polycrates, the tyrant of Samos, departed from that island, in order to repair to Oretes (the governor of Sardis under Cyrus) his daughter dreamed that she saw her father lifted up in the air, whilst Jupiter washed, and the Sun anointed him, we know not what good purpose was to be served, even though some **Œdipus** should have explained to him, that the dream predicted that he should be hanged by Oretes; and that his body remaining, should be washed by the rain, and the fat be melted by the sun *.

The dream proclaimed the parent was deceived
By secret omens, nor his fate perceived †.

The inutility of such intimations may be farther illustrated by other relations: when **Cræsus** dreamed that his accomplished son **Alys** was transfixed by a javelin headed by

* Herod. L. iii. Camerar. Oper. Subsec. Cent. 2. C. 57.

† Claudian. L. ii.

iron, he did all that parental solicitude could suggest, in removing him from the command of the Lydian forces, and in giving him a wife whose affection might conspire, in all precautions, to secure him from injury; and when the prince was accidentally killed by the javelin of a faithful attendant at the hunting of a boar, we perceive that the fatal prediction of the dream could be calculated only to disturb the mind of Cræsus, and to aggravate the affliction which drove the unhappy Adrastus to suicide *. While

* The wretched mortal did not 'scape the blow †."

Nay, sometimes attention to dreams seems to have been the cause of crimes and misfortunes, if we receive the accounts which are given to us; thus Paris is said to have eloped with Helen under the encouragement of a dream, in which Venus promised him her assistance.

* Herod. L. i.

† Sophocles—Consult Tertull. Lib. de Anim. C. 46. Plin. L. xxv. C. 2.

Astyages, sovereign of the Medes, having dreamed that a vine springing from his daughter overspread all Asia, the soothsayers led him to apprehend that her offspring would deprive him of his dominions. In order to prevent this, he gave her in marriage to Cambyses, an obscure Persian, and delivered her son Cyrus to a confidential servant to be slain; but the direction not being observed, the child lived to overcome Astyages, and to translate the kingdom from the Medes to the Persians *.

Cambyses, when in Egypt, fancied in his sleep that he saw a messenger arrive from Persia, who reported to him that Smerdis, who had excited his jealousy, being seated on the royal throne, had touched the heavens with his head; on which he sent one of his confidential servants to put him to death; which being effected, gave occasion to the setting up of a

* Herod. L. i.

more formidable rival in a fictitious Smerdis, and eventually caused the death of Cambyses*.

Hamilcar, when he besieged Syracuse, is reported to have dreamed that he should sup the next night in the town. Encouraged by the vision he attempted the assault; but a mutiny having arisen in his army, the townsmen made a sally and took him prisoner.

Justus, a patrician Roman in the reign of Constantius, dreamed that the purple issued from his loins: the report of the dream, it is said, excited the jealousy of Constantine, and provoked the emperor to put him to death; but his only daughter, Justina, a beautiful and modest girl, being seen in the bath by Severa Augusta, and made her attendant; and being commended to Valentinian, so engaged his affections, that he obtained a law to marry her,

* Herod. L. iii.

and made her a joint partner of the empire with his empress.

Naronianus is related to have dreamed that he was made consul, and that his son became emperor. Upon the death of Julian, the son ascended the imperial throne; but Naronianus dying, a son of the new emperor, whose name also was Naronianus, was elected consul, and the dreamer appeared to have been amused with a delusive ambiguity*.

* Fulgosius.

CHAPTER IV.

FARTHER REMARKS ON DREAMS MENTIONED IN ANCIENT HISTORY.

Barbarians never taste the hallow'd streams
Of Prophecy, nor are inspir'd by dreams.

Claudian. in Ruf. L. ii. Pref. Nullus Castalios. &c.

It may perhaps be imagined, that some authority should be ascribed to those dreams which are recorded as having had a beneficial tendency, and as having proved conducive to the preservation and comfort of nations and illustrious persons.

Herodotus mentions, that when Sennacherib invaded Egypt with a strong army, and the soldiers, who had been injuriously treated by Sethon, refused to assist in the defence of the country, the priest repaired to the temple of

his god, and falling amidst his lamentations into sleep, dreamed that the deity appeared to him, and encouraged him with the assurance, that if he marched against the troops of the Assyrians, he should suffer no injury, for that God would send him assistance. Encouraged by the vision he marched with his followers, among whom were no soldiers, to Pelusium, where vast numbers of mice in the night invaded the enemy: they gnawed their quivers and bows, and thongs of the shields, so that the next day the Assyrians took flight, and many were destroyed*. This, however, seems to be a perverted account of the relation given in the sacred history †.

There are other dreams, which appear to have had a tendency to produce useful purposes; such are those related to have occurred to Themistocles when in exile. In one here alluded to, he is related, when advancing towards a city called Leontöcephalus, or the

* Herod. L. ii. C. 141.

† 2 Kings xix. 35.

Lion's Head, to have imagined in a sleep, into which he had fallen in the middle of the day, that he beheld the goddess Cybele, who advised him to fly the Lion's Head, unless he meant to fall into the Lion's jaws, requiring the dedication of his daughter Muesiptoleme as an acknowledgment for the intimation. Themistocles, we are told, avoided the city in obedience to the suggestion, and thereby escaped the Pisidians, who had been engaged by Epixia the Persian to assassinate him *; and in grateful memory of the deliverance, built a temple in the city of Magnesia, which he dedicated to Cybele Dyndimene, appointing his daughter to be the priestess.

On another occasion, when concealed at Ægæ, a city of the Ætolians, he is reported to have dreamed, that Olbius, the tutor of the children of his host, appeared to him one

* Plut. in Themist.

night after a sacrificial feast, and in a prophetic rapture, uttered this verse :

“ Counsel, O Night, and victory are thine !”

Οὐρανὸς ἐξουσίῃ σου καὶ νύξ, καὶ νίκη
 after which he also dreamed, that a dragon coiled itself round his body, and on creeping up his neck, and touching his face, was turned into an eagle, which spread his wings over him, and flew away with him to a distant place ; where he beheld a golden sceptre, upon which he rested in security, and free from fear. The circumstances of the dream were supposed to have been completed in the escape of Themistocles from the house, by a stratagem of Nicogenes, in the covered carriage of a woman, and in his favourable reception by Artaxerxes.

Peticius, who received Pompey into his bark, when flying from the battle of Pharsalia, is said to have beholden, when in port at Larissa, in his sleep, on a preceding night, the vanquished hero unattended and wretchedly

clothed, approaching him *, and to have told the dream to his companions before its accomplishment.

Historians report of Artorius, or, as some style him, of Marcus Antonius Musa, the physician of Octavianus, afterwards Augustus, that Minerva appeared to him in a dream the night before the battle of Philippi, enjoining him to warn Octavianus not to omit being present at the battle, notwithstanding his severe disorder. In consequence of which Octavianus, being carried in his litter into the field, escaped from the soldiers of Brutus, who gained possession of his camp † with the expectation of killing him.

If we regard these as instances of a providential care of distinguished men, we must

* Alexander ab Alex. Genial. Dier. L. ii. C. 26.

† Plutarch. Ant. C. 28. Valerius Maxim. L. vii. Velleius Patercul. L. ii.

consider the deities introduced to have been employed merely as machinery familiar to the heathen world, such being calculated to impress the persons to whom the warnings were addressed, and to engage their regard. Yet even upon this supposition we must conceive, that God encouraged indirectly a confidence in false deities.

But the dreams might be the effect of solicitude, casually productive of safety to the persons concerned.* The recollection of the town in which Themistocles resigned himself to anxious sleep, and the hope of protection from Artaxerxes, might have contributed to his security; and the presence of Augustus at the battle of Pharsalia, must have been of so much advantage in encouraging the soldiers, and perhaps so much better for the patient than the anxiety of absence, that the physician might conceive it essential to success or recovery, and really imagine in his sleep, or politically fabricate the dream.

Alexander is related by historians to have dreamed, after committing himself to sleep with great solicitude in the chamber with his friend Ptolemy, who had been wounded in some engagement in the East, that he saw the figure of a dragon or serpent, which his mother Olympias cherished, and which she feigned to have been the father of Alexander, which presented him with a root that the monster carried in his mouth, as a remedy for the poison. Alexander described the colour of the herb, and affirmed that he should know it, if found; which, on its being accordingly discovered, he did, and applied it with success to the wound of his friend and others.

Alexander, desirous of exciting a salutary confidence in his friend, and of impressing his army with the idea of his influence with the gods, might contrive the dream, availing himself of the knowledge of some remedy of the country, perhaps communicated to him by the prisoners.

Such accounts, as Cicero observes, true or false, are too rare, and referable to casual circumstances, to authorise any idea of inspiration *.

Cicero, we are told, during his flight from Rome, being at Atina, imagined that he beheld in his sleep Caius Marius, preceded by the fasces bound with laurel, who encouraged him on his dejection at being obliged to leave his country, and consigned him to the care of a lictor, who was instructed to place him in the monument of Marius, where, it was said, was the hope of a better fortune. Sallust, on hearing the dream, is related to have foretold a speedy return to Cicero, which was soon afterwards effected by an unanimous decree of the senate, passed in the Marian Temple of Jove. The local correspondence, if correctly stated, was remarkable: Cicero, however, did not think it necessary to have recourse to any su-

* De Divin. L. ii. §. 68. Diod. Sicul. L. xvii. p. 575
Q. Curtius, L. ix. C. 27.

pernatural agency on this occasion, but conceived that the dream might be the production of a mind engaged in meditation on the fate and fortitude of Marius, with application, we may conceive, to the circumstances of his own fortune *.

There are also other dreams; which, however their circumstances might correspond with historical events that afterwards happened, can have no claim to be considered as inspired, since they might have produced their own accomplishment, being casual and vague, and verified by the operation of devotion, solicitude, or fear.

An instance mentioned by Cicero may be thus explained: Decius, the first consul of his family, in consequence of a dream, in which victory was promised to the army whose commander should devote himself to death, and

* Valerius Maxim. L. i. C. 7.

in which he appeared to fall with great glory in the midst of his enemies, rushed to destruction three years after in an engagement with the Latins, a victim to his superstitious credulity and rashness *.

Tacitus thinks it necessary to apologize for relating, that Curtius Rufus, when attending on a questor, who had obtained a department in Africa, was addressed in the retirement of a deserted portico at Adrimetum, in the midst of the day, by a female figure of supernatural appearance, who declared to him that he should come as consul into that province, which afterwards happened agreeably to the pretended prediction *.

There are some other dreams described in ancient accounts, which may be considered as the work of a creative fancy, occupied with anxiety on great events.

* De Divin. L. i.

‡ Tacit. Annal. L. ii. C. 21.

Hannibal, we are told by Cicero, after a Grecian historian, dreamed, on the taking of Saguntum, that he was carried by Jupiter into the council of the gods, and there commanded by him to carry war into Italy: one of the heavenly council was appointed as a conductor in the expedition. Hannibal, on his march, was directed by his guide not to look back; but, prompted by human curiosity to disregard the instruction, he turned and beheld an horrible monster enfolded by serpents, and followed by a tremendous storm and darkness, which, wherever he proceeded, laid every thing waste. On inquiry Hannibal was informed, that the monster represented the devastation of Italy, but was directed to proceed, regardless of the effects of his march. What was this but a picture which might naturally present itself to the mind of the Carthaginians, pledged by a sacred oath to carry devastation into Italy*?

* Cicero de Divin. Liv. L. xxi. §. 22.

It would be well if conquerors in general would look to the horrors which must follow in the track of their ambition: it might check some at least in their destructive course.

When Cassius and Brutus were about to pass from Asia into Europe, in the dead of the night, while the moon reflected a feeble light on the silent camps, a black and horrible spectre is said to have appeared to Brutus, who sat musing in his tent concerning the event of the war, with a taper nearly extinguished placed before him. Brutus, with a firm tone, demanded what, either man or god, he was. The spirit answered, "Brutus, I am thy evil Genius; thou shalt see me again at Philippi." Brutus replied, "I will see thee there." The spirit accordingly re-appeared on the plains of Philippi the night before the last battle. The morning after the first vision, Brutus related to Cassius what he had seen, and expounded to him from the doctrine of the Epi-

creans what was to be thought of such spectres*.

Cassius is reported to have seen in the same battle the figure of Julius Cæsar on horseback preparing to strike him, which terrified him to flight and suicide: but these and other accounts of apparitions, though they relate to the belief in preternatural interpositions, do not strictly come within the subject of our discussion, and we shall therefore wave the consideration of them.

The dream of Xenophon, in which he imagined that the fetters with which he was bound spontaneously broke, and which encouraged the troops of Cyrus when about to pass a river on the borders of Armenia, in defiance of the enemies, who harassed their retreat and obstructed their progress, might have been the

* Plutarch. in Brut. Lips. Mon. L. i. C. 5. p. 75.

result of solicitude, or the contrivance of policy. Xenophon, however, appears to have been impressed with a greater reverence for the existing superstitions than might have been expected from a disciple of Socrates.

Sylla, before his successful engagement with Marius, pretended to dream that he received from Pallas a thunder-bolt, the emblem of victory; and afterwards, in the same spirit, professed to have dreamed the night before he defeated the son of Marius, that he had seen him in a dream admonished by his father to avoid an action.

A dream of like nature is attributed to Judas Maccabæus, who, when about to engage with inferior forces the army of Demetrius, king of Syria, under the command of Nicanor, is related in the second book of Maccabees, a work of doubtful authority, to have beholden the high priest Onias, who was then dead, praying to God for the Jewish nation, and af-

terwards Jeremiah the prophet presenting him with a golden sword of conquest. In the confidence of the dream he is stated to have defeated the Syrians, with a slaughter of thirty and five thousand men*.

Pompey and Cæsar each dreamed before their final conflict, that he dedicated a temple to Venus, the victorious. The blind and lame men who applied to Vespasian at Alexandria, and are reported to have been miraculously cured by him, pretended to have been admonished in a dream by the god Serapis to address themselves to the emperor. The cure and the dreams were probably equally contrived to do honour to Vespasian†, whose elevation Josephus also professes to have predicted‡.

* Fulgosius. 2 Maccab. xv. 12.

† De Bell. Jud. L. iii. viii. et de Vit. §. 42. et Sueton. Vespas. C. 5.

Onomarchus, who excited the Phocæans to persevere in maintaining the possession of the treasury of Delphi, was encouraged in his design by a dream, in which the brazen Colossus, dedicated by the Amphyctions to Apollo, had by his hands been made higher and larger, which he considered as figurative of his exploits; but Diodorus Siculus, judging by the event, informs us, that it signified, that the mulct imposed by the Amphyctions upon the Phocæans for their sacrilege would be much advanced through Onomarchus; which, indeed, was as probable as the other*.

* Diod. Sic. L. xvi. C. 7.

CHAPTER V.

ON OTHER ANCIENT DREAMS OF A MISCELLANEOUS CHARACTER.

But it is an abuse of time to commit such dreams to paper.—*Vit. Tit. Livii. a Jac. Phil. Tomas. conscript. Verum enim vero, &c.*

THAT the pretensions of antiquity to the claim of inspired dreams may be fairly examined, another chapter or two should be assigned to some other accounts, which have been transmitted to us, with a show of authority, and which may equally be explained on very simple considerations.

The dream in which the apprehensions of Antigonus, king of Macedonia, foresaw the flight of Mithridates, the illustrious captive, whom after the conquest of Persia he detained

in his service, and whom he imagined to have seduced away the flower of his troops, may be referred to the jealous penetration of Antigonus, who might have detected the views of Mithridates, and whose sleeping thoughts might have revived the solicitude of the day.

The account is as follows:—Antigonus dreamed that he sowed gold in a spacious field, and that the seed sprung up, flourished, and ripened; but that soon after the golden harvest was reaped, and nothing left but the worthless stubble and stalks, and that then he heard a voice proclaim that Mithridates was fled to the Euxine Sea, carrying with him all the harvest: the king being awake, and exceedingly terrified, resolved to cut off Mithridates, and communicated the matter to Demetrius, exacting of him a previous oath of silence. Demetrius, who was favourably disposed towards Mithridates, met him on coming from the king. The young prince compassionated his friend, and was restrained only by a reverence for his oath from openly imparting the secret. Taking him,

however, aside, he wrote on the sand with the point of his spear, "Fly Mithridates." Admonished by these words, and the countenance of Demetrius, Mithridates fled into Cappadocia, and not long after founded the famous and powerful kingdom of Pontus, which continued from him to the eighth descent, the last Mithridates being with much difficulty overthrown by all the power and forces of the Romans*.

It may be incidentally remarked, that the conduct of Demetrius reminds us of the amiable kindness of Jonathan towards David, in counselling his flight from the envious jealousy of Saul †.

Some dreams may reasonably be ascribed to political contrivance, as those related by Herodotus to have occurred to Xerxes and Artabanus, on occasion of the Persian expedition into Greece. In the former a person of re-

* Plutarch, in Demetrio et Appian.

† 1 Sam, chap. xx.

markable stature and beauty is represented to have twice expostulated with Xerxes for wavering in his resolution, in consequence of the suggestions of Artabanus, who had urged the danger of the invasion ; and on his determination to undertake the war, the wreath of an olive tree, whose branches covered the earth, is described to have crowned him in intimation of victory, as the Magi misinterpreted the fallacious omen. In the latter the same phantom remonstrated with Artabanus for endeavouring to prevent the execution of the design. Some writers consider this as the invention of Artabanus, willing to soothe the king by artfully acceding to his favourite scheme, but perhaps all may be regarded as the concerted fabrication of Xerxes and Artabanus, desirous of exciting a confidence in the public mind, by representing the expedition as countenanced by the gods*. If there were any thing preternatural in the

* Herod. L. vii. C. 12. §, 19.

dream, it was the suggestion of an evil spirit, which impelled Xerxes and his army to destruction.

* Julius Cæsar is reported to have projected the rebuilding of Carthage, in consequence of a dream in which he beheld a great army in affliction inviting him to the work, and Augustus is reported to have accomplished the design in regard to the memory of his uncle. But dreams which were related to have happened on the buildings of cities, and the establishment of colonies, were endless; upon which we may observe in the words of Livy, "As for those things which are related before the building of the city, which are more like poetical decorations than historical truths, I neither wish to affirm or refute them: we grant this indulgence to antiquity, that by mingling divine with human circumstances, it rendered the origins of cities more august †."

* Appian.

† Livii Hist. Pref.

The dreams which are said to have predicted the character and actions of illustrious men, appear often to be but nursery inventions, or the flatteries and embellishments of history.

Such as was that of Agariste, the mother of Pericles *, who dreamt before his birth that she was delivered of a lion; and to mention no more, those of Octavius and Attia, the parents of Augustus, the latter of whom fancied, the day before her delivery, that her bowels were carried up as high as heaven, and thence spread out to cover the earth †.

Almost all the Roman emperors professed to have had presages, or found others to proclaim the indications that foreshewed their greatness. The elegant flattery of Cicero beheld Octavianus, whom the favour of Cæsar had destined to the empire, let down in a

* Plut. in Pericles.

† Sabell. Ex L. i. C. i. P. 6.

golden chair from heaven*; and Quintus Catulus, another noble Roman, pretended to have seen Jupiter deliver into his hands, while yet a child, the ensigns of the Roman people†.

The auspicious dream of Trajan, who was crowned in his sleep, and of Hadrian, who experienced uninjured the descent of celestial fire‡; and of Antoninus, who fancied that he had shoulders and arms of ivory§; of Severus, who imagined that he mounted the horse which had thrown Pertinax to the ground||; and many others, that might be mentioned, carry the air of fiction; and are such as Cicero places on a footing with those of Æneas and Hecuba. They remind us of the dream which Euripides attributes to Iphigenia when in

* Cicero De Divin. L. ii. §. 68. Diod. Sicul. L. xviii. P. 575.

† Dion. Cass. L. xlv.

‡ Dion. Cass. L. vi. §. 1. Xiphil. in August.

§ Dion. Cass. L. lxxi.

|| Iphigen, in Tauris.

Tauris, in which she, fancying herself with her virgin followers at Aulis, beheld the roofs of Palaces shattered by an earthquake, and one column standing alone amidst the wreck of her father's house, expressive, as she conceived, of the death of Orestes.

These seem to have been imitated in later times, as in the dream of Arlotte, the mother of William the Conqueror, who fancied that her bowels were spread over all Normandy *; in that of the mother of the Maid of Orleans, who dreamed that she brought forth a thunderbolt; and lastly in that of the mother of Scanderbeg, who is said to have dreamed that she saw a serpent which covered all Epirus, his head being stretched over the Turkish dominions, where he devoured every thing with bloody jaws, his tail spreading over the Christian empire, and particularly affecting the Venetian empire †.

* Baker's Chron. P. 28.

† Barletii Hist. de Gest. Scand. L. i. C. 82. P. 130.

There are some other dreams of a similar description, which seem to have been contrived, like other auspicious omens, to excite confidence in military expeditions, and to shed a divine grace on conquerors. When Timoleon was about to sail from Corinth on an enterprize against Syracuse, the priestess of Proserpine had a dream, in which the goddess and her mother Ceres appeared in a travelling dress, promising to accompany Timoleon into Sicily; in respect to which dream a sacred galley was built, and called the Galley of the Goddess*.

Germanicus, the night before his victory over Arminius, is represented to have dreamed, that his robe being sprinkled with blood of a sacrifice which he performed, he received another more beautiful from his grandmother†.

Even savage nations appear to have availed themselves of this art. Thus among the

* Plutarch. in Timoleon.

† Tacit. Annal. L. ii. §. 14.

Tartars, who in ancient times lived in Imaus, a part of Mount Taurus, was a sort of lawless wandering shepherds, among whom were certain families, called Malgotz, leagued under chosen leaders, though subject to be oppressed by the neighbouring nations: among those a blacksmith of the name of Cangius, pretended to have seen in a dream a person in armour sitting on a white horse, who thus addressed him? "Cangius, it is the will of God that thou shouldest shortly be the king and ruler of the Tartars that are called Malgotz, thou shalt free them from that servitude under which they have long groaned, and the neighbouring nations shall become subject unto them." Cangius the next morning rehearsed his dream before the seven princes and elders of Malgotz. Being disregarded, all of them the next night seemed in their sleep to behold the person of whom he had told them, and to hear him commanding them to obey Cangius. Whereupon the princes assembling took the oath of allegiance, and entitled Cangius their first emperor, or in their language, Chan, from

whence the title was derived to his successors: the emperor freed his people, reduced Georgia and the greater Armenia, and afterwards wasted Polonia and Hungary*.

These accounts are equalled by others in later times. Ertucules, having slept after dinner, was confounded when he awaked with a dream; and having, according to the precepts of his religion, bathed his body to purify himself, repaired to Edebales, a person of great reputation for wisdom and sanctity, and thus addressed him. "I dreamed, venerable Sir, that the brightness of the moon did proceed from your bosom, and thence afterwards did pass into mine; when it was thither come, there sprung up a tree from my navel which overshadowed at once many nations, mountains, and valleys. From the root of this tree there issued waters sufficient to irrigate vines and

* See Gregor, de Repub. L. xix. C. i. §. 19. Herbert's Travels, L. vi. Purchas. Pilg. tom. i. L. iv. §. 2.

gardens, and there both my dream and my sleep forsook me." Edebales, after some pause, thus answered. "There will be born unto you, my good friend, a son whose name shall be Osman, he shall wage many wars, shall acquire to himself victory and glory, and your posterity shall be lords and kings of many nations, but my daughter must be married to your son Osman, and she is that brightness which you saw come from my bosom into yours, and from both sprung up the tree." The prediction is represented as the more remarkable for the emblem of the moon, since we know that the crescent is the chief and most remarkable ensign of the Turkish nation. The relation has the air of a pompous and idle tale, invented, probably, by the flattery of parasites or historians*.

Hatred and indignation have also fabricated dreams unfavorable to the character of tyrants.

* Lips. Marsil. L. i. C. 5. P. 70.

While Dionysius, the Syracusan, was yet in a private station, Himera, a woman of distinguished family, is said to have dreamt, that having ascended into heaven, and contemplated the seats of the gods, she observed a powerful man of a swarthy and freckled complexion bound by iron chains to the throne of Jove under his feet; on interrogating the youth who conducted her, she understood that he represented the dreadful fate of Sicily and Italy, and that when loosed he would occasion the destruction of many cities. The next day she published the account, and when the tyrant appeared as an evil spirit hurled from the chain of divine custody, Himera seeing him with a crowd, exclaimed, " This is he whom I have seen." This being told to Dionysius, provoked him to put her to death *.

Tiberius, Caligula, Nero, and Domitian, are each represented to have foreboded with

* Valer. Max. L. i. C. 7.

guilty apprehension in their dreams, the indignation of the gods, as manifested in their several fates.

Archelaus, having reigned ten years in Judea, was accused by his subjects to Cæsar of cruelty and tyranny, and was immediately summoned to his tribunal, his wealth seized, and he himself condemned to banishment. It was pretended, that this issue of his affairs had been before disclosed to him in a dream, in which he had seen ten ears of corn strong, full, and fruitful, which were eaten up of oxen, and which amidst different constructions, Simon, an Essæan, had interpreted to portend an unhappy change of affairs, as oxen were deemed emblems of misery, being creatures burthened with work; and emblems of change, because in ploughing they turn up the earth; the ten ears he represented to be so many years, in which time the harvest should be gathered, and the power of Archelaus be terminated*.

* Joseph. Antiq. L. xvii. C. 15. Zonaras, tom. i. P. 45.

The character of private individuals, and the fate of private families, have also been represented as objects of revelation by dreams.

Socrates, before he received Plato as his disciple, is said to have beheld a swan, which with growing feathers, and stretched out wings, raised himself up, and sang harmoniously; and a thousand instances of similar fictions might be produced.

The dream of Ecclinus, a Roman, which exhibited Rome, seated on its hills, gradually ascending by an increasing elevation, and afterwards diminishing again like melting snow, till it was dissolved, is stated to have been descriptive of the fortune of his family, as well as of the city, his sons being first distinguished by their victorious success, and afterwards rendered remarkable by their misfortunes.

Dion Cassius gratified by some commendatory letters written to him by Severus, artfully professed to have dreamt that he was directed

by divine instruction to write the history of the emperor. He concludes his work also with these lines*:

Jove snatch'd great Hector from surrounding spears,
The rage of war, its tumult and its fears.

Which he represents his good genius to have dictated to him in Bythinia, commanding him to subjoin them as prophetic of his fortune †.

Plutarch relates, that during the building of the citadel at Athens, one of the most active and intelligent of the workmen, by falling from a great height, was so bruised that his life was endangered; upon which occasion Minerva appeared in a dream to Pericles, and prescribed a remedy, by the aid of which the man recovered. Pericles, probably, was willing to have the reputation of divine councils, and employed the name of Minerva to re-

* Dion. Cass. L. lxxii.

† Dion. Cass. L. lxxx.

commend a prescription which his judgment approved*.

Diodorus Siculus relates, that a certain Scythian dreamt that Æsculapius had drawn the humours of his body to one place, or head, and was afterwards constrained to lance a festered imposthume.

Æsculapius was, indeed, supposed to assist the sick in their dreams †, and dreams which predicted, or pointed out the means of recovery, were thought to be not unfrequent. When Galen had an inflammation about the diaphragma, he was admonished in his sleep, we are told, to open the vein most apparent between the thumb and the four finger, and to take a quantity of blood from thence ‡. He did so, and was restored to health. His reflections

* Plutarch. in Pericles.

† Galen. de Sanit. tuend. L. i. C. 8.

‡ Schott. Phys. Curios. L. iii. C. 25. P. 501. Cœl. Rhod. Ant. Lect. L. xxvii. C. 49. P. 1250.

might have suggested "without a ghost" that bleeding would be of service in an inflammation, as they might also have taught him when consulted in the case of a swelled tongue, to direct a purge and cooling application, which probably had more effect than a gargle of lettuce juice which the megrim of his patient prompted him to have recourse to, in consequence of a dream at the same time, and from which he conceived that he derived great benefit*.

The emperor Marcus Antoninus says that he learned remedies for spitting of blood, and for dizziness, in his dreams †. Dreams similar to those above mentioned, are said to have happened in modern times, as Sir Christopher Wren, when at Paris in 1671, being disordered by a fever and retention of urine, and a pain in the reins, is reported to have sent for a physician, who advised him to let blood, thinking he had

* Meth. de Tuend. L. xiv. C. 8. See also L. vii. in Precep.

† Τα sic αὐτῶν.

a pleurisy, but bleeding being very disagreeable to him, he was determined to defer it a day longer; and is said to have dreamed that night that he was in a place where palm trees grew, and that a woman in a romantic habit reached dates to him; the next day he sent for dates which cured him of the pain in his reins; and many other tales of this description are related.

A Roman widow, we are told by Fulgosius, dreamed that as she walked in a garden at Rome, a root of the wild rose addressed her, and directed her to write to her son who was then on some military expedition in Spain, to instruct him that persons labouring under madness might be cured by that root. The widow, it is added, following the instruction of the dream, wrote a letter which opportunely reaching her son after he had been bit by a mad dog, preserved him just as the symptoms of the hydrophobia were beginning to appear*.

* The word used is *Cynorrhodon*, which signifies also the sweet briar, and the flower of the red lilly.—*Plin.* 25, 2, and 21, 5.

Cornelius Rufus, who was consul with Mannius Curius, is said to have dreamed, that he had lost his sight, and awoke blind: and another person, we are told, dreamed that he was bitten on the foot, and next day had a cancer. These, perhaps, were the forebodings of fear excited by pain, but what shall we say to the story of Marcus, the freedman, of the younger Pliny, who dreamed that some one sitting on his bed shaved him, and awoke well trimmed: we must agree with Fulgosius, that this was a miracle.

CHAPTER VI.

ON ANCIENT DREAMS, CONNECTED WITH
IMPENDING DEATH.

The gates of Death are open night and day.

Dryden's Translat. of Æneid. B. 6.

THE dreams which have chiefly seized the imagination, and affected the credulity of mankind, have been those which appear to have been connected with impending calamities and death, and which, from the importance of their intention, have been thought to justify the supposition of preternatural inspiration, or of the enlargement of the divine powers of the mind, on its approach to the scenes of eternity and spiritual existence.

A belief in the reality of such intimations has very commonly obtained; but upon an ac-

curate consideration of the accounts conveyed to us from antiquity, it will derive little or no confirmation from pagan history, and appear not to have any foundation, except as established on the relations contained in those Scriptures, which record the testimonies of revealed religion.

As the prophetic declarations of the patriarchs, which occasionally revealed the fate of their descendants, were often delivered with their expiring breath, the idea originated in fact, and concurring with the most affecting apprehensions of mankind, was naturally cherished wherever it was conveyed by tradition.

Traces of the notion are discernible in the most ancient heathen writings. The heroes of Homer predict, at their death, the fate of their victorious adversaries.

Intimations of impending destruction were indeed universally believed to obtain, and various were the fancies of popular superstition.

Euripides, in his tragedy of Rhesus, represents the charioteer as describing himself, when he slept on the fatal night that Ulysses and Diomedes dealt destruction in the Thracian camp, to have seen

“ Forms tremendous hovering in his dream,”

and to have beholden

Two visionary wolves ascend
Those coursers' backs which he was wont to guide,
Oft lashing with their tails they forced them on ;
Indignant breathing as they champed the bit,
And struggling with dismay.

Just images of the warriors, who

“ Bore the steeds away, and glittering car.”

The accounts, however, which appear to have had any claim to be considered as authentic, in addition to those before considered, are very few ; such as they are, they shall be produced.

Herodotus relates, that Hipparchus, the son of Pisistratus, and brother of the tyrant

Hippias, the night before the festival of the Panathenæa, beheld in a vision an impressive figure, which admonished him in the following ambiguous terms of his approaching fate, to be inflicted on him by Aristogiton and Armodius, the assertors of public liberty.

Brave Lion, thy unconquer'd soul compose,
To meet, unmoved, intolerable woes.
In vain th' oppressor would elude his fate,
The vengeance of the gods is sure, though late*.

Aristotle relates, that Eudemius, a Cyprian and his friend, on arriving at Phæcas, a noble city of Thessaly, on his way to Macedonia, oppressed under the tyranny of Alexander, was taken so ill, that all the physicians despaired of his recovery, when he saw in his sleep a beautiful youth, who assured him that he would soon recover, and that Alexander would die in a few days, and Eudemius return home five years after; that it immediately happened that

* Beloe's Translation of Herod. B. v. Ch. 55.

Eudemius recovered, and the tyrant was slain by his wife's brother; and that towards the conclusion of the fifth year, when Eudemius began to hope, on the encouragement of his dream, to return from Sicily to Cyprus, he fell in battle at Syracuse; when, for the verification of the whole of the dream, it was interpreted, that the soul, on parting from the body, must be understood to return to its native place*.

Plato represents Socrates as saying, when in public custody, to Crito his friend, that he expected death on the third day; for that he had seen in a dream a woman of remarkable figure and beauty in a white vesture, who addressed him in a verse of Homer †, prophetic of his death, at that period.

Cyrus was a character too distinguished to

* Fulgos. Ex. Lib. i. C. 5. p. 131.

† B. ix. l. 363.

disappear from the world without some omen to intimate his decease. Xenophon represents him, after having performed some religious offices, and distributed donations with his accustomed liberality to his subjects, to have dreamed, on retiring to sleep in his palace, that a person with a form more august than human appeared to him, and thus addressed him: "Prepare thyself, Cyrus, for thou art about to go to the gods." In the full persuasion that the dream was a divine warning, Cyrus is farther stated to have performed sacrifices to Jupiter and the Sun, and other gods, on the top of the mountains, as was the Persian custom; to have offered up thanks for the distinguished blessings which he had experienced, without being elated above the remembrance of the dependent condition of his nature; and to have supplicated an auspicious termination of his illustrious life, and blessings on his family, friends, and country. Three days after which, having delivered an impressive speech to his children, and the chief magistrates of

Persia, he expired *. This may be considered as one of those fictitious accounts with which historians are accustomed to embellish their works. The futility of these accounts is illustrated often by the circumstances and consequences which are described. Alexander, for instance, is said to have dreamed, that the hand of Cassander should be fatal to him. To what purpose could the intimation be given? It was not a punishment, for it afforded occasion only for a display of a generous disregard of the dream: it was not a salutary warning, for it excited no respect, and warded off no injury; and we may presume, that if a superior being had judged right to interfere for the security of the conqueror, he would have conveyed information that would have challenged attention †.

Equally fruitless was the intimation reported

* Hist. L. viii.

† Valerius Maximus, L. i. C. 7,

to have been given to Aterius Rufus, a Roman knight, who, agreeably to a dream, was accidentally wounded at the Theatre by the trident of one of the Retiarii, who had compelled his adversary to the place where Aterius Rufus sat as a spectator *.

Valerius Maximus informs us, that Calphurnia, the neglected wife of Julius Cæsar, dreamed, on the night preceding the assassination of her husband, that she saw him lying in her bosom dead and covered with wounds : that in consequence she and others had incessantly entreated him to stay away the next day from the senate ; but that he, unwilling to appear influenced by a woman's dream, or perhaps confiding in the fidelity of the public, went to the senate, and was murdered by Brutus and his associates. The flattery of Valerius represents this as an intimation from the gods of the approaching admission of

* Valerius Maxim. L. i. C. 7.

mature virtue into heaven; but we see nothing in the revelation of impending murder, that could convey grateful tidings to its object, and can consider it only as one of the many prodigies fabricated with lavish credulity on the death of the illustrious man.

There was not any greater use in the dream of the emperor Mauritius, who is said to have foreseen that he and his whole family should be killed by Phocas. The emperor, if he believed the dream to have been divinely suggested, was censurable for neglecting his danger, merely in consideration of the low condition of Phocas, who was a notary in his army, as the gods might be religiously believed to perform great actions by feeble instruments; but we know not on what ground he could be expected to regard the dream at all, though it is related, that he and his whole progeny were put to death agreeably to it by the command of Phocas *.

* Fulgos. L. i. C. 5. p. 124.

The fate of Caius Gracchus is said to have been denounced to him by his brother, who in a dream informed him, that he could not possibly escape the fate which had overwhelmed himself when driven from the Capitol *.

Who however does not see, that it might naturally happen, that Caius, conscious of the same guilty ambition with his brother, should be terrified with the forebodings of a mind apprehending the same fate?

So Caracalla, who was assassinated, is related to have dreamed, that his father threatened to kill him, as he had before slain his brother †.

Sylla, in his retirement at Cumæ, imagined in a dream, that he was summoned by Fate. In the apprehension of the accomplishment of his dream, he apprized his friends of his approaching death; and having made his testa-

* Valerius Maxim.

† Dion. Cass. L. vii.

ment he was seized with a fever, and expired on the night which succeeded his dream *.

Glaphyra, the wife of Archelaus before mentioned, who had been married to Alexander, his brother, and afterwards to Juba, king of Lybia, and who, on the divorce of Mariamne, had been united to Archelaus, dreamed that Alexander her first husband, by whom she had children, stood by her bedside, and said to her, " Glaphyra, thou hast eminently confirmed the truth of that observation, that wives are generally unfaithful to their husbands; for whereas thou wert married to me in thy virginity, and also hast children by me, thou didst yet make trial of a second match; and, not content with inflicting that injury upon me, hast taken to thy bed a third husband, and he my brother; but I will free thee from this reproach, and before long challenge thee for my own." Glaphyra, being troubled with

* Appian.

the dream, the effect of an awakened conscience, told it to the ladies of her acquaintance, and not long after expired, the victim probably of guilty fears. Josephus considers this dream as a certain argument of the immortality of the soul, and of Divine providence.

Vespasian, it is related, fancied in his sleep that he beheld a balance suspended in the imperial palace, in one scale of which were Claudius and Nero, and in the other the emperor and his sons; by which was understood to be intimated an equal allotment of period to the reigns of each party.

But images in sleep deceive the mind,
When friends removed by death we seem to find*.

The emperor Marcion is said to have dreamed, that he saw the bow of Attila, king of the Huns, broken; and soon after to have

* *Lucret. L. v. l. 64, 65.*

heard, that this scourge of the empire died on the night on which the dream occurred.

Upon the whole it appears evident, that the dreams here referred to are not sufficiently credible, important, and well authenticated, to demonstrate the reality of preternatural communications.

CHAPTER VII.

What I have described should be considered rather as the dreams of crazy persons, than as the judgments of philosophers.—*Cicero de Natur. Deor. L. i. Exposui fere, &c.*

UPON a collective retrospect of the accounts considered in the preceding chapters, it does not appear, that there is sufficient reason to suppose, that there was any preternatural interference displayed in the communication of the dreams referred to, or that the minds of the persons concerned were endowed with prophetic powers. The author has selected those which have the highest claim to regard, from their character, and the authority on which they are delivered; and after such an examination has but little hesitation in rejecting the pretensions of pagan antiquity to the illumination of prophetic dreams.

It is probable, that the philosophers of antiquity, who had no revelation to enlighten them, and who perceived the influence of those fears which result from a belief in the existence of a Supreme Power, and of the Divine superintendence and government of the world, were well inclined to encourage the popular notions which naturally prevailed on the subject; and notwithstanding accounts of inspired dreams were industriously collected, we find that very few of those which are transmitted to us with the most imposing reputation will bear a strict scrutiny. Some are evidently the contrivance of political or superstitious interests; many must be considered as fabulous tales of classical embellishment, and others, if received as real and unexaggerated, are resolvable into natural explications, or casual coincidences.

If any preternatural interposition be admitted, it must be that of evil spirits. The false dreams fabricated in support of religious inventions, only serve to argue the existence of

true visions, furnished with extraordinary impression in evidence of religion : they are copied from originals which deserve attention ; but it is presumed that it may be maintained, that divine dreams were never imparted to the nations of antiquity, excepting in connection with the scheme of God's immediate and ostensible interference, as described in the sacred history of the earliest ages, and of the rise and progress of the Hebrew and Christian dispensations. They do not seem to have been furnished to pagan nations, unless where their interests were implicated with those of the Jews, but were reserved, together with other tokens of miraculous interference, in evidence of revealed religion.

The knowledge of the existence of such modes of communication might have been conveyed to heathen nations on the scattered leaves of tradition, and have given rise to the fictitious reports that prevailed of their continuance in the ordinary concerns of the world.

The desire of discovering future events is natural to the human mind, which is hurried on by a kind of divine impulse to futurity; artifice is ever ready to avail itself of this curiosity, and was especially so inclined among the heathen nations, whose bewildered minds turned with eagerness to every gleam of revelation.

The idea of divine dreams was traced up by them to the highest antiquity, and sometimes with indication of the vestiges of truth. Pliny represents Amphyction, the son of Deucalion, to have first displayed skill in the interpretation of them, while Trogus Pompeius ascribes the honour to Joseph, the son of Jacob, and Philo Judæus to Abraham.

The exposition of dreams was reduced to scientific principles, and practised by men who engaged in it as a profession. Some writers distinguish between "dreamers of dreams *,"

* Ονειροπολῆς.

and “ expositors of dreams *,” one of the latter description appears to have been deified for his skill ; and many of them flourished with high reputation in early days near the Boristhenes, the Gades, and in Sicily.

The eastern nations, who might have beheld the very stones which served as pillows to those who were blessed with divine visions †, regarded dreams with punctilious veneration ; and much of the reputed wisdom of their sages was shewn in the interpretation of them ‡.

The Greeks and the Romans were also considerably influenced by dreams, and often acted in affairs of consequence on their suggestion. We find in Homer the idea that

“ Dreams descend from Jove §.”

* *ὀνειροποῖτες*.

† Gen. xxviii. 11.

‡ Dan. ii. 2, 3.

§ Pope's Homer, B. i. l. 86, and note.

and see Nestor, the oracle of Wisdom, exhorting the Grecians in council to attend to the dream of Agamemnon, which had enjoined a battle*. In succeeding times almost every sect, excepting that of Epicurus, admitted their claim to reverence, and the vulgar regarded them with the most implicit credulity.

Plutarch informs us, that in consequence of a dream of Arimnestus (who was general of the Platæans, when the Grecians were confederated against the Persians), in which Jupiter Soter informed him, that the country round Platæa was the district pointed out by the oracle at Delphi as the scene of victory, the Platæans altered the boundaries which separated their country from Greece, in order to enlarge the territories of Attica, that the Athenians might, according to the direction of the oracle, give the enemy battle within their own dominions†.

* *Iliad*. B. 2.

† Plutarch. in *Aristidis*.

The superstitious regard paid to dreams by the Grecians in general was carried to a great extent. When Pelopidas was encamped with his army on the plains of Leuctra, he dreamed, before his engagement with the Lacedæmonians, that he beheld the daughters of Scedasus, who were called the Leuctrides, weeping at their tombs, and loading the Spartans with execrations, because some of that nation, having despoiled them of their virgin honour, had driven them to suicide ; and at the same time their father Scedasus commanded him to sacrifice a young red-haired virgin to his daughters, if he desired to obtain the victory. As many of the soothsayers and commanders recommended a literal compliance with the dream, it would probably have been productive of a sanguinary oblation, had not a diviner of the name of Theocritus happily proposed the sacrifice of a wild filly with a red mane, which casually broke into the camp, or was designedly introduced, and which he represented as the victim which the gods had provided and required *.

* Plutarch. in Pelopid.

Euripides represents Hecuba to have had a dream before the sacrifice of Polyxena had been required to appease the shade of Achilles. She thus describes it :

With bloody fangs I saw a wolf, who slew
 A dappled hind, which forcibly he tore
 From these reluctant arms ; and what increased my fears
 Was, that Achilles' spectre stalked
 Upon the summit of his tomb, and claimed a gift,
 Some miserable Trojan captive *.

Popular opinions varied much as to the origin and nature of dreams : the Peripatetics represented them to arise from a presaging faculty of the mind, which, as an oracular power excited by a divine fury, or released and liberated from the body in sleep, perceived future events. Other sects imagined, that dreams, as well as oracular suggestions in general, proceeded from demons, of which, upon the idea of Thales the Milesian, adopted by Plato, the world was full, and which, ac-

* Euripides' *Hecuba*, Woodhull's Translat.

cording to the Platonic fancies, sustained a middle character between gods and men; and some of them were supposed to be the shades of departed heroes, and distributed into benevolent and malignant beings; the former appointed to watch over the welfare of individuals, and the latter permitted to molest and to delude them by fallacious and deceptive visions like that before mentioned, which Homer represents to have seduced Agamemnon to lead out the Grecian troops in the vain hope of the immediate destruction of Troy.

Upon such a subject the imagination had no limits, and the most wild and extravagant conceits that could be imagined were often received with wonderful credulity. The whole of the Pagan mythology, composed of the contexture of oriental and Grecian fictions, was embellished, if not fabricated by poetical invention; and in its translation from Grecian to Roman literature, was decorated with additional colourings; ornaments of fancy became objects of religious reverence, and poetry

enlarged the structure of superstition. Thus what was concerted in figurative allusion, was misinterpreted to imply real existence, and the Pantheon, or Pandemonium of Antiquity, was peopled with a

“ Thousand demigods on golden seats,
Frequent and full.”

The heathens worshipped Sleep under different images of a god, or goddess. The rites observed towards them originated, probably, in that early respect which was paid to dreams. The bold imagination of Homer conceived, that impending circumstances were to be found in dreams, and that

Immured within the silent bower of Sleep,
Two portals firm the various phantoms keep,
Of iv'ry one; whence flit to mock the brain,
Of winged lies, a light fantastic train :
The gate opposed pellucid valves adorn,
And columns fair incas'd with polish'd horn ;
Where images of truth for passage wait,
With visions manifest of future fate *.

* Dacier from Eustathius supposes, that by horn, which is transparent, Homer means the air or heavens, which are

Virgil adopted the idea.

Two gates the silent house-of Sleep adorn,
Of polished iv'ry this, that of transparent horn:
True visions through transparent horn arise,
Through polish'd iv'ry pass deluding lies *.

translucent; and that by ivory he denotes the earth, which is gross and opaque. Thus the dreams which come from the earth, that is through the gate of ivory, are false: those from heaven, or through the gate of horn, true. Pope imagines that this fable was built upon a real foundation, that there were places called the gates of Falsehood and Truth at Memphis, in Egypt, from whence Homer draws some of his allusions.—See note on Pope's *Odyss.* B. 19. The author of the *Archæologiæ Atticæ* conceives that the gate of horn was suggested by the horns of the ram which was sacrificed to Amphiaraus and Chalcas, and Podaliris, after which the votaries slept on the melotie, or fleeces, L. vii. C. 3. and Strabo, L. vi. The Scholiast on Homer represents the horn to be a fit emblem of truth, as being transparent when thinned; the ivory a proper figure of falsehood, as opaque. Some by *κερας* understand the eye, the cornea tunica; and by *σταφας* the mouth and teeth, that which is seen appearing to be more certain than that which is spoken.

* B. 6. Dryden's Translat.

Philostratus tells us, that in allusion to these doors it was customary to represent in pictures a dream personified in a white garment upon a black one with an horn in his hand.

The fictions of poetry were, however, endless, and varied with much luxuriance of fancy. **Virgil** elsewhere conceived that

Full in the midst of the infernal road
An elm display'd her dusky arms abroad,
The god of sleep there hides his heavy head,
And empty dreams on every leaf are spread*.

The elm was by some supposed as a barren tree, to be expressive of the vanity of dreams. **Servius**, on the authority of **Aristotle**, represents them to be especially fallacious on the fall of the leaf in autumn.

From the elm, on the leaves of which dreams were supposed to be spread, or under the shadow of which their embodied forms were

* B. G. Dryden's Translat.

represented to sit, Morpheus, the servant of Sleep, was sometimes described as bringing them to present to the minds of those who slept, exhibiting, as his name imported, the forms of men :

“ And none than he more skilful to express
Men’s gestures, language, countenance, and dress.”

Ovid paints Night as a figure of which the temples were encircled by poppies, and as accompanied by a multitude of dreams *. Tibullus represents sleep and dreams as attending the car of Night :

“ Now Night leads out her steeds, her car ascends,
A glittering circle of the stars attends ;
Next Sleep with dusky wings doth silent move,
And sable dreams around uncertain rove.”

Sleep, though here described as moving slowly, is elsewhere portrayed with wings, as Statius addresses it :

“ Let not thy pinion o’er mine eyes be spread,
But a soft influence from thy rod be shed †.”

* Metamor. Lib. ii. l. 364.

† Statius Sylv. L. v. Consult also Imagin. Deor. P. 121.

Sleep was generally regarded as a female figure with black expanded wings, she was also sculptured as holding in her left hand a white child, and in her right hand a black child with distorted feet, the former being the image of sleep, the latter of death. A very common notion that prevailed was, that visions rose from the regions below. The queen, according to the present reading of the Hecuba of Euripides, thus addresses the earth :

" Venerable earth
Parent of dreams that flit on raven wing *."

* Woodhull's Trans.

"Ω πότνια χθών,

Μελανοπτερύγων μάτις ὀνείρων. *Hecub.*

Mr. Porson, in his late valuable edition, proposes to read,

ω σκετιά νυξ

Μελανοπτερύγων μάτις ὀνείρων.

For which, however, there is no sufficient reason, since the *χθόνιαι* *Διαι*, invoked immediately after by the distressed mother, might be conceived to suggest ill-omened dreams, which were commonly supposed to arise from the earth, and in a more direct way than the scholiast on Euripides derives them when he says, *ἐκ μὲν τῆς γῆς οἱ τροφοί, ἐκ δὲ τῶν τροφῶν οἱ ὕπνοι, ἐκ δὲ τῶν ὕπνων οἱ ὄνειροι*. From the earth comes meat, from meat sleep, from sleep dreams.

As various were the opinions of the ancients concerning the residence of the imaginary deity of sleep, Homer places it in Lemnos, Ovid among the Cimmerians, Statius among the Æthiopians, Philostratus describes it as abiding in the cave of Amphiaraus, where was the gate of Sleep, and where day and night were represented by a figure in which the white vest was drawn over the black; where Sleep was exhibited in a four wheeled carriage: it was with allusion, probably, to the four paths of the watches of the night.

The notions concerning the origin and cause of dreams were diverse as the authors who treated of them, among whom were Aristotle, Themistius, Artemidorus, Democritus, Lucretius, and others. Some of these writers supposed them to be formed of spectres, or images, emitted from corporeal things, which floating in the air, permeated, as it were, to the mind; some fancied them to be divine intimations, and others, with an unintelligible jargon, "æthereal essences."

Whatever were the notions as to the productive and efficient cause of dreams, the ancients watched for them with considerable anxiety, and endeavoured by every observance to procure such as might be clear and distinct. The *ύραε*, or morning dream, was particularly regarded as significant on the idea expressed by Pope :

“ What time the morn mysterious visions brings,
While purer slumbers spread their golden wings.”

upon the conviction mentioned by Pliny, that a dream was never true which obtained after eating and drinking ; it was not unusual to fast a day, and to abstain from wine three days, before a divine dream was sought.

It was customary also for those who wished to obtain inspired dreams, to lie down after the performance of religious rites upon the skins of beasts sacrificed, in expectation of the divine suggestions, as was the case at the temples of Amphiaraus in Attica, Æsculapius in Pergamos, of Serapis in Canopus, and

others; as also at that of Faunus, of which we learn from Virgil that the shades were

"renown'd for prophecy,
Which near Albunea's sulph'rous fountain lie,
To these the Latian, and the Sabine band,
Fly when distress'd, and thence relief demand.
The priest on skins of offerings takes his ease,
And nightly visions in his slumbers sees;
A swarm of thin ethereal shapes appears,
And flutt'ring round his temples deafs his ears.
These he consults the future fates to know
From power's above, and from the fiends below."

And here the poet represents Latinus to have repaired for directions to the god concerning the disposal of his daughter, when solicited in marriage by Æneas and Turnus.

The idea of thus obtaining revelation was derived from some acquaintance with the Hebrew modes of procuring communications from God. Strabo represents the temple of Jerusalem as a place where divine dreams were imparted, and it is probable that, as Mr. Pope observes, he had received some

information of the visions of the prophets, as of that which Samuel had concerning the destruction of Eli's house, or that which Solomon obtained after having sacrificed before the ark. It should be remembered, however, that Isaiah reprehends as an idolatrous practice, the custom of sleeping among the graves and monuments for the sake of dreams*.

Whatever difference of sentiment prevailed as to the origin of dreams, there was a general concurrence of popular opinion both among Greeks and Romans, as well as eastern nations, not only that they bore a relation to future events, but that where they were inauspicious in their denunciations the omen might be averted by supplications and sacrifices, and the calamities which they were supposed to portend be avoided. Brizo, the goddess of sleep or dreams, was worshipped with divine honors and sacrifices, and her votaries slept in her temple

* Isaiah lxx. 4, in the Septuagint, it is ἐν τοῖς μνήμασι καὶ ἐν τοῖς σσηλαῖς κοιμῶνται διὰ τὸ ὕπναι.

at Delos with their heads bound with laurel, or other fatidical appendages. The Sun was addressed with conciliating prayers, as its beams dispersed the dreams of the night. Supplications were offered up to Mercury at the conclusion of festivals for a night of good dreams, and images of that deity with his Caduceus was placed at the feet of beds, hence called *ἐπιμήνες* *. Bathing also, and lustrations were practised as auspicious; and Æschylus, in Aristophanes, directs the attendants to prepare a lamp and warm water taken from the river, which were to be employed in some ceremonies designed to avert the influence of divine dreams. In a fragment of Euripides we see Priam, on occasion of the dream of Hecuba, in which she brought forth a flaming torch :

" Smitten with dread, and anxious care to heaven
Present the bleating victims, sue for peace,
And ask if any prophet having prayed
To Phœbus, could inform him what events
Such a portentous vision could produce."

* Archæolog. Atticæ, a Francis Rous, p. 352, L.vii. C. 4.

And the royal father is represented to have obtained an answer from Apollo forewarning him of the destruction which Paris should bring on his country*.

In the *Miles Gloriosus* of Plautus, we find Palæstrio directing Philocomasium to supplicate the gods, in order to avert the effects of a dream†. No less respect was paid to dreams among the Romans than among the Greeks‡. Sylla, in his Commentaries, inscribed to Lucullus, endeavoured to excite his reverence for them; and Propertius, and other poets, strengthened the general credulity concerning them§.

At length, however, it became a principle adopted among the Romans upon the multiplication of dreams, that none which related to

* Fragment of Euripid. Wodhull's Translat.

† Act ii. Sc. 4. See also Act i. Sc. 1.

‡ Plutarch's Life of Sylla.

§ Life of Pompey.

the public weal should be regarded, unless they were seen by magistrates, or at least by more than one individual. The principle was sometimes deserted, as it is not easy to limit the credulity of superstition. Cicero informs us, that within the memory of his contemporaries, Lucius Julius, who was consul with Publius Pompilius, repaired the temple of Juno Sospita, in obedience to a decree of the senate enacted from respect to a dream of Cæcilia, the daughter of Balearicus *.

Notwithstanding the general respect paid to dreams among the ancients, it appears that some of the more philosophical minds considered them as futile and vain; and conceived that divine inspirations were more likely to be conveyed to the waking, than to the sleeping thoughts, and that if the gods had sent dreams they would have enforced more respect to them, and have furnished some unequivocal rules of interpretation.

* De Divinat. L. i.

Theophrastus represents it to be a part of the character of a superstitious man to enquire, on receiving a dream, to what God he should perform his vows* ; and Cicero, after eloquently stating each side of the question, rejects the idea of their being subservient to divination.

If the general futility of dreams were not sufficiently manifest from their own nature, it would be fully exposed by the fanciful and precarious principles upon which they were interpreted. Every casual correspondence between dreams and events was noted, and construed into a precedent for future explication; sometimes they were explained by contraries, and sometimes they were literally expounded. It appears from a passage in Plutarch's *Life of Aristides*, that certain tables were used for the interpretation of dreams; as he speaks of one Lysimachus, a grandson of Aristides, who sitting near the temple of Bacchus gained his livelihood by it: we may form some idea of

* Nat. Hist. L. vii.

the egregious trifling which was shewn in the art, from the rules of interpretation attributed to Artemidorus, if genuine, who lived in the reign of Antoninus Pius, and which are transmitted to us as the result of deep observation and experience *. The whole mystery of his art, if we may judge from those, consists in the conclusion drawn from some ordinary recurrences of events, and from the application of things reputed significant, by which circumstances were represented as auspicious, or ill-omened, respectively as the dreams were composed of things superstitiously so regarded—thus for instance in this childish theory, to dream of a fair and great nose intimates subtlety—of rosemary and sage, trouble and weakness—of a midwife, disclosure of secrets—of a leopard, an artful man. It may be easily con-

* Polydore Virgil. de Invent. Rerum. L. i. C. 24. Cum Somnium quod ominosum videretur, vel ipsi vel alii habuissent, scribebant, et observantes quomodo eveniret, et si quando postmodum hujus simile obtigisset, exemplo prioris putabant eventurum. See also Fabricii Biblioth. Græc. L. iv. C. 13.

ceived, that an art so vague was often accommodated to the inclination and feelings of those whom it was the interest of interpreters to gratify.

The mother of Dionysius, the tyrant of Syracuse, dreamed that she brought forth a satyr; and the Sicilian interpreters, called Galeotæ *, explained the dream to import, that her son should be the most illustrious and prosperous among the Greeks †.

Hippias, the leader of the barbarians to the plains of Marathou, fancied in a vision that he slept with his mother; and the popular construction led him to expect a return to prosperity, and a peaceful death at Athens ‡. A similar dream is attributed to the emperor Claudius.

* It is remarkable that the word Galeotæ, or Galei, is derived from the Hebrew root גלח, which signifies to reveal.

† Herdfield in Sphin. C. 37. P. 893.

‡ Herod. L. v. C. 55.

Philip of Macedon dreamed that he placed a seal upon his wife; he expounded his dream to signify, that his wife should be barren, but **Aristonides**, a soothsayer, interpreted it that it imported the pregnancy of his wife, inasmuch as empty vessels are not sealed.

Domitian dreamed a few days before his death that a golden head rose upon the nape of his neck, which was applied to prefigure the golden age which followed in the reigns of his five successors*.

As to **Cesar's** dream (says **Bacon**, the profound writer from whom I have borrowed the two preceding articles,) I think it was a jest, it was that he was devoured of a long dragon, and it was expounded of a maker of sausages that troubled him exceedingly†. We shall conclude with the just remark of this great man, that the more it appears that divination

* **Bacon's Works**, vol. iv. p. 5.

† **Bacon**, vol. iii. p. 354.

has been polluted by vanity and superstition,
the more we should receive and preserve its
pure part *.

* Bacon, vol. ii. p. 57.

CHAPTER VIII.

OF INSPIRED DREAMS WHICH WERE RENDERED SUBSERVIENT TO DIVINE REVELATION, AND CONTRIBUTED TO THE ESTABLISHMENT AND SUPPORT OF THE HEBREW DISPENSATION.

And the Lord came down in the pillar of the cloud, and stood in the door of the Tabernacle and called Aaron and Miriam; and they both came forth, and he said, Hear now my words: if there be a prophet among you, I the Lord will make myself known unto him in a vision, and will speak unto him in a dream.—*Numbers*, xii. 5. 6.

THAT dreams were employed by God for the conveyance of his instructions to mankind from the earliest ages, is indisputable, and though we are inclined to reject those dreams which are related in profane history, as not the result of preternatural suggestion, it is certain that the

distinctions laid down by Macrobius had a foundation in reality. It appears also, that however we may deny that God imparted his immediate suggestions to those who were not subjected to his especial direction, or had a connection with the great scheme of revelation; yet we may still admit that the Grecian and Roman persuasions of the existence of inspired dreams were well founded, though formed only on a traditional knowledge of those modes which were occasionally adopted by God for the communication of the particulars that illustrated his designs.

The visions which were imparted to Abraham and others*, in which the word of the Lord is represented to have addressed them, and they themselves to have spoken; and which seem to have happened as well during the day as after "the sun was gone down, and a deep sleep fell" on the favoured person†, may be

* Gen. xv. xx. 3—7. xxvi. 24.

† Gen. xv. xl. 1—5. Numb. xxiv. 4—16. See also Acts xxii. 2—17. 1 Kings iii. 5. Job xxxiii. 14—16.

classed under the third distribution of Macrobius, which represented oracular communications to obtain, when in sleep, some venerable or sacred person or deity, foreshewed future events, or gave directions as to what should be done or avoided. The figurative and mysterious vision which represented the majesty of God ascendant above ministering angels, and pronouncing to Jacob the increase and dispersion of his seed, and the blessings to be derived through his race to mankind, may be ranged under the same division *, as may also the grand religious expostulation thus finely described by Eliphaz in the book of Job.

“ Now a thing was secretly brought to me,
and mine ear received a little thereof.

“ In thoughts from the visions of the night,
then deep sleep falleth on men.

* Gen. xxviii. xxxi. 11—13. 24.

“ Fear came upon me and trembling, which made all my bones to shake.

“ Then a spirit passed before my face ; the hair of my flesh stood.

“ It stood still, but I could not discern the form thereof : an image was before my eyes, there was silence, and I heard a voice, saying,

“ Shall mortal man be more just than God? Shall a man be more pure than his Maker?

“ Behold, he putteth no trust in his servants ; and his angels he chargeth with folly :

“ How much less in them that dwell in houses of clay, whose foundation is in the dust, which are crushed before the moth?

“ They are destroyed from morning to evening : they perish for ever without any regarding it.

“ Doth not their excellency which is in them go away? They die even without wisdom * !”

The dreams furnished by divine favour to Joseph, in which the sheaves and stars performed an obeysance expressive of the reverence that was to be paid to his elevation †, as well as those which were furnished to the officers of Pharoah ‡, and to the king himself §, may be placed under the first distinction of Macrobius, that of dreams, properly so called, which were described to be mysterious representations requiring expositions, and subservient to divination; and under this class may justly be arranged also the mysterious and enigmatical visions of Daniel, Ezekiel, St. John, and other prophets.

* Job iv. 12, &c.

† Gen. xxxvii. 6. 7. 9, comp. with Gen. xlii. 6. xliii. 26. 28. xliv. 14. l. 8.

‡ Gen. xl. 5.

§ Gen. xli. 1—5.

The dream indeed which was especially so denominated, was in its original import deemed to be prophetic of real circumstances, as the very derivation of the word intimates importing to speak truth*; but so many fictions were invented even among the Jews during the time of the prophets, that dreams became proverbially represented as truth mingled with falsehood, as wheat mixed with straw†.

The term vision, which Macrobius considers as a prophetic representation of events exactly foreseen, is employed by the sacred writers as generally expressive of revelation however imparted. "In a dream," says Elihu, "in a vision of the night, when deep sleep falleth upon men in slumberings upon the bed‡, then

* *ὄνειρος*, from *ον*, truth, and *ειραιν*, to speak.

† Jerem. xxii. 32. xxiii. 28. Sic ut impossibile est ut sit Triticum sine Paleâ, ita fieri non potest ut sit somnium absque verbis falsis. Porta Mosis, P. 23.

‡ Job xxxiii. 15. 17. In the Septuagint it is *εν μεσση νυκτερινη*. Psal. lxxxix. 19. 1 Kings iii. 5. 13.

he openeth the ears of men, and sealeth their instruction." Specific instances which may suit the exact definition of the Latin writer, are furnished in the account of the vision in which God communicated to Abraham the sojourning of his multiplied descendants four hundred years in Egypt, their coming out, and his own death in a peaceful old age*; or in that in which a consolatory assurance was imparted to Israel, that he should go into Egypt, and that his son Joseph should close his eyes†; or if we restrict the term to the revelations communicated by day to the waking senses, we may refer to the miraculous vision imparted to St. Paul on his journey to Damascus, when even the men who accompanied him saw the light and heard the voice, though not the distinct words, it should seem, which addressed him.

* Gen. xv. 13. 16.

† Gen. xlv. 24. See also 1 Sam. iii. 1 Kings iii. 5. Luke i. 8. 22. Acts x. 12.

Examples of the fourth and fifth description, as unconnected with any design or pretence of revelation, must be sought for in the perturbed slumbers of anxiety, or in the reveries of a confused and dozing imagination.

There are certainly dreams mentioned in Scripture of so ambiguous a character, that it would be a subject of intricate discussion to reduce them to any exact distinction: this indeed is not necessary, the communications afforded to the prophets, and consigned to the regard of future ages, in Scripture, whether dreams, or visions, or oracles; whether figuratively or literally prophetic, were unquestionably inspired, and subservient to divine revelation, they had the criterion of truth as tending to advance the service of the true God, and the real interests of men, though opposed by those of false prophets whom God permitted to prove the Israelites*; whether by dreams

* Deut. xiii. 1—3. Zeeh. x. 2. Jerem. xxiii. 25—28.

preternaturally suggested, or casually predictive, does not appear; and who prophesied also false dreams, causing the people to err by their lies and by their lightness, not sent by God, nor commanded by him *.

The first and immediate predictions of the true prophets were often accomplished during the lives of those to whom they were furnished, and such parts were usually so clear, and accompanied with such explanations, as enabled the prophet to understand them, and to interpret them if furnished to uninspired persons, while the distant allusions by which they gilded the remoter scenes of the divine scheme were often, perhaps, of questionable character to the prophets themselves.

Great caution was recommended by God to his people in the examination of the pretensions of the prophets and dreamers who affected

* Isaiah xxiii. 32.

inspiration. The "nations which thou shalt possess," said the Almighty, "hearkened unto observers of times and diviners, but as for thee the Lord thy God has not suffered thee to do so *;" and when God forewarned them against those who prophesied lies, he established the tendency of the instruction as the test of truth.

If we consider the object and intention of the dreams recorded in sacred history, they appear to us worthy of, and consistent with the declared designs of God, connected with the plan of his miraculous dispensation, and constituting part of the great scheme of prophecy. Where they were imparted to those not in immediate subjection to that dispensation which was ratified by miraculous testimonies, they still were appropriated to the signalizing of God's professed cause and servants, by the interpretation of the prophets, and bore often a reference to the Messiah.

* Deut. xviii. 11.

This appears in the memorable instances of the dreams of Nebuchadnezzar, the first of which, as explained by Daniel, developed the character of successive kingdoms which were to be introductive to the dominion of Christ*; and the second revealed a signal decree of a corrective judgment against an unrighteous and inflated prince, which none but a prophet, emboldened by an inspired confidence, would have ventured to interpret and apply†: on other occasions the dreams imparted to the individual bore a reference to national dispensation. God on those occasions condescended to employ true visions to the discountenancing of those who trusted in false dreams, as in Egypt he permitted Moses to defeat the Egyptian magicians by their own arts.

There are some accounts in Scripture which have been considered as descriptive of visionary representations, but which should perhaps

* Dan. ii. 4.

† Dan. iv.

rather be understood as narrative of actual events, such are some of those which relate to the appearance of superior beings, as where angels are recorded to have visited or encountered favoured persons for encouragement or trial, as in some of the appearances vouchsafed to Abraham and Lot and others*, and particularly in the instance of God's host which met Jacob, or in that of the man wrestling with him; in which accounts there is no intimation that the scene was not real, and in the latter instance the proofs of a real agency were sensibly demonstrated in the disjoining of Jacob's thigh†.

Some Jewish writers, indeed, who restrict the modes of divine communication with design to elevate the pretensions of Moses to an exclusive height, consider all communications which were not imparted to their great Law-

* Gen. xvii. 22. xvi. 19. xviii. 22. Joshua v. 13—15. Jud. vi. xiii. Job xxxviii.

† Gen. xxxii. See also iii. 8. xix. 5. Acts xii. 9.

giver as referring to representations in dreams, or visions * ; though the Scriptures in no place will authorize such restrictions, and in many instances afford us proof to the contrary †.

There are some accounts also of dreams represented to have contributed to establish the fame of the Hebrew dispensations, which are not recorded by sacred writers, and which may be received, or rejected, without affecting the theory which we support. Such, for instance, is the dream related by Josephus to have occurred to Alexander at Dio, in Macedonia, in which a figure habited like the high priest of the Jews, encouraged him to proceed in his Persian expedition with assurance of success ; in consequence of which, on meeting the high priest Jaddua on his approach with hostile intentions to Jerusalem, he adored the name of Jehovah inscribed on the sacred mitre,

* Numbers xii. 6. 2 Sam. vii. 4—17. Maimon. More Nevoch. P. 2. C. 41.

† 2 Sam. xxviii. 6. 15.

declaring the dream which he had beheld, and not only pardoned the Jews for having withheld the assistance which he had requested at the siege of Tyre, but granted great privileges to them *.

This might have been a fiction of Hebrew vanity, or an artful stratagem of Alexander, who must have heard of the wonderful marks of divine interference manifested towards the Jews, and have been anxious to animate his soldiers with a religious confidence.

The remembrance of the inspired dreams which had conveyed divine instruction to their forefathers, led the Jews to entertain a superstitious reverence for dreams long after miraculous modes of revelation had ceased among them. Whoever had a dream which seemed to portend calamities, and afflicted his mind, imposed a fast on himself on the following

* Joseph. Antiq. L. xi/C. 2.

day, even though it were the Sabbath, on which day fasting was not permitted for any other cause. In the evening, before the taking of any food, after the period of fasting was expired, it was customary among them, for the person to whom the dream was imparted, to assemble three friends, to whom he said, "I have had a good dream," repeating this seven times, they as often answering, "Thou hast had a good dream, it is well, be it good. Let it become good, may the merciful God make it good, that it may be good and become good;" adding afterwards, for an auspicious omen, from the twelfth verse of the thirtieth Psalm, "To the end that my glory may sing praise to thee, and not be silent. O Lord, my God, I will give thanks unto thee for ever:" and from the thirtieth verse of the thirty-first chapter of Jeremiah, "Then shall the virgin rejoice in the dance, both young men and old together, for I will turn their mourning into joy, and will comfort them, and make them rejoice from their sorrow;" and concluding with the seventh verse of the Book of Eccle-

siastes, "Go thy way, eat thy bread with joy, and drink thy wine with a merry heart, for God now accepteth thy works." This they call the benefaction of a dream.

If they had a dream of ambiguous character, so that they could not determine whether it were good or bad, they had a peculiar form of prayer in which they prayed God to turn it to their good; these forms are in their Books of Prayer*.

* Buxtorf. Synagoga Judaica. C. 13.

CHAPTER IX.

ON INSPIRED DREAMS WHICH CONTRIBUTED
TO THE CONFIRMATION AND ADVANCE-
MENT OF THE GOSPEL.

It cannot be that when such providence appears in lesser concerns, it should be found wanting in those of chief consideration, but the prophecies and cures of diseases which have been manifested in the world proceed from the good providence of God.—*Sallust. Philosoph. de Diis et Mundo, advarw is, &c. p. 70.*

As it appears to have been designed that the second dispensation should not be defective as to any proofs which might demonstrate its divine authority, inspired dreams, such as those which had been imparted in preceding communications of God's will, were furnished in testimony of the Gospel, and are described as the effect of the operation of the Spirit. The

gracious scheme was introduced indeed by divine dreams, which afforded an assurance of the miraculous conception of our Lord*, and the birth of his forerunner †, and it was afterwards supported by a frequent display of God's interference manifested in vision ‡.

These were consistent with the intimations of prophecy: Joel speaking of the times of the Gospel, had thus predicted in God's name, "Behold it shall come to pass afterward, that I will pour out my Spirit upon all flesh, and your sons and your daughters shall prophesy, your old men shall dream dreams, and your young men shall see visions, and also upon the servants and the hand maids, in those days will I pour out my Spirit §; and this appears to have been sufficiently fulfilled, as well by the instructions conveyed in dreams to St. Peter,

* Matt. i. 20.

† Luke i. 11—22.

‡ Matt. ii. 12. 19. xxvii. 19.

§ Joel ii. 28, 29. comp. with Acts ii. 16, 17.

St. Paul*, and others, as by the miraculous descent and influence of the Spirit on the day of Pentecost.

It deserves to be remarked, that the dreams mentioned in Scripture, which were subservient to prophetic revelation, were of the most part composed of objects previously familiar to the minds of the favoured person, though so combined as to be representative of future events. As in the instance of the vision imparted to Peter, in which he beheld a vessel descending unto him, wherein were all manner of four-footed beasts of the earth, and wild beasts, and creeping things, and fowls of the air†. Some, however, presented spiritual beings, of which the human apprehension could have no experimental knowledge but by divine revelation, and some, scenes of unspeakable glory, which though the mind might be permitted to

* Acts ix. 10. xi. 5. xvi. 10. xviii. 9. 2 Cor. xii. 1—3.
See also Matt. xxvii. 19.

† Acts i. 10—16.

contemplate them in miraculous extasy, when doubtful whether in the body or out of the body, yet could not be described in human language, or made intelligible to human conceptions in the ordinary state of corporeal existence*.

* 2 Cor. xii. 1—4.

CHAPTER X.

ON DREAMS SUBSEQUENT TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF CHRISTIANITY, WHICH HAVE NO TITLE TO BE CONSIDERED AS INSPIRED.

Meanwhile those prejudices which mingle themselves with true religion find, as we may say, the means of becoming confounded with it, and of drawing to themselves the respect due only to it. We dare not attack them, from the apprehension of attacking, at the same time, something sacred.—*Cependant ces Préjugés, &c. Fontenelle Hist. de Oracles.*

As there were some original dreams which contributed to the conveyance of divine instruction to mankind, the general notion of inspired dreams was built on experience; though it was afterwards enlarged to comprehend many fictitious accounts fabricated in later times, in imitation of those visions which were furnished in testimony of truth.

It is uncertain at what period preternatural visions ceased to be afforded: those who consider them as having constituted a part of the evidence of Christianity, will suppose them to have ceased with the other documents of a miraculous œconomy; and if they survived the apostolic age, to have terminated with the preternatural gifts of the Spirit, which probably finished when the gospel had been promulgated towards the third, or, at farthest, the fourth century.

Cyprian, who flourished in the third century, pretended to have had divine visions on extraordinary exigencies; as in his Letters to Cæcilius *, he professed thereby to have been instructed to mingle wine with water at the eucharist, in opposition to those who had only water. Tertullian also speaks of visions imparted to others.

* Epist. lxxiii.

St. Basil, who lived in the fourth century, endeavoured to discourage the confidence in dreams which prevailed in his time, when probably false pretensions to inspiration were much multiplied. "If," says he, "the visions which appear in sleep concur with the precepts of the Lord, let men be content with the Scriptures, which require no assistance from dreams to produce a just reliance: for if the Lord left his peace with us, and gave us a new commandment, that we should love one another, but dreams induce war and dissension, and extinction of affection, let not men furnish opportunity to the devil of invading their souls in sleep, nor give more weight to their fancies in sleep than to saving doctrines *." And this indeed was agreeable to the instructions of the Son of Sirach, which represented ordinary dreams as calculated only to "lift up fools, since he who so regarded them was like him that caught at a shadow, or followed after

* Basil, Ep. ccx. vol. iii. edit. Par.

the wind * :” at the same time that he distinguished judiciously between those that were given in support of revelation, saying, “ Divinations, and soothsayings, and dreams, are vain; and the heart fancieth as a woman’s heart in travail; and if they are not sent from the Most High in thy visitation, set not thy heart upon them, for dreams have deceived many, and they have failed that put their trust in them †.

There is a principal consideration which should incline us to the belief, that ordinary dreams do not deserve to be respected as communications of preternatural instruction to mankind; which is, that we are not furnished with any sure principles of confidence, or any standing authority of interpretation : many dreams are indisputably fallacious as to conjectures of

* Eccclus. xxxiv. 1, 2.

† Eccclus. xxxiv. 5. 7. *Divinatio erroris et “auguria mendacia et somnia male fugientium, vanitas”* is the strong rendering of the Vulgate.

future events, and we have no mode of discriminating what is to be regarded as false or true; it cannot be supposed that God should require us to be influenced by that which has no stamp of his sanction, and it must be useless to be furnished with the prediction of events, which have no relation to any adequate object, no title to be believed, and of which no prudence can avoid the accomplishment.

When dreams were imparted under the miraculous dispensations of God, those who were favoured with them knew where to apply for their construction, and had the criterion whereby to judge of their fidelity; they were taught to address themselves to the prophets of the Lord, or to the high priest; or to abide by those sacred oracles and general rules of confidence, by which dreams and prophets might alike be tried *.

* Deut. xiii. 3. Jerem. xxiii. 32. Bayley's Essay on Inspiration.

That when indications of God's immediate interference with human concerns were manifested by especial communication, many persons should conceive themselves or others to be objects of divine favour, and instruments of God's views, was natural. To those who were deeply affected by religious impressions, every event was a miracle, every dream a divine vision.

It was natural also, that in times of persecution and peril, the professors of Christianity should often resign themselves to sleep with uneasy reflections, which might generate fearful dreams; and it is therefore not improbable, that Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna, might dream a few days before his martyrdom, that he saw the pillow on which he reclined set on fire and consumed to ashes; a dream which he considered as prophetic of his fate: nor is it improbable, upon similar considerations, that Cyprian should have a dream, which seemed to foreshew the persecution raised by Æmilianus, president of Egypt.

There are few dreams which have been more celebrated than that of Constantine, in which, according to contemporary writers, he was instructed on the night preceding the action of the Milvian bridge, to inscribe the shields of his soldiers with the celestial sign, the sacred monogram of the name of Christ; a form of prayer being likewise communicated to Licinius, which was repeated by the soldiers before the engagement. Gibbon refers the dream to the policy and enthusiasm of the emperor, considering it as similar to the pious frauds of which Philip and Sertorius had availed themselves*.

Tollius, in his preface to Boileau's Translation of Longinus, mentions, without referring to authority, a similar vision of Antigonus, who assured his troops, that he had seen a painting on a symbol of safety, with these words, "In this conquer:" but, as Mr. Gib-

* See Gibbon, chap. xx. Lardner, vol. vii. p. 94. Le Clerc, Bib. Antiq. tom. iii. p. 438. Lactant. De mort. Persecut. chap. xlv. Addison on Medals.

bon has observed, there is ground for doubt, as it is not mentioned by Diodorus, Plutarch, Justin, or Polyanus.

Fulgosius speaks of a dream of Masilienus, who, being sent by the emperor Honorius against Gildo for the recovery of Africa, imagined that he saw St. Ambrose, bishop of Milan, then dead; who, striking the ground thrice with his pastoral staff, thrice exclaimed, "Here and in this place:" and accordingly on the same spot, on the next day, Masilienus easily defeated Gildo.

Many dreams and visions were fabricated to give a colour to the pretensions and views of Mahomet, and his superstition. Cadigha, who received him into her service, and afterwards raised him to a near connection by marriage, is reported to have been prepared for his reception by a dream, in which she beheld the common image of future greatness, the sun, descending from heaven, and entering her

house, diffusing a splendor by which every house in Mecca was enlightened *.

Those who wished to establish and support superstition, naturally pretended to the same testimonies which they had seen successfully displayed in the advancement of true religion. Hence also, in imitation of the divine visions which had contributed to the rise and confirmation of Christianity, prophetic ecstasies and divine illuminations were frequently affected by those whose enthusiasm, or artful designs, interested them in the progress of error and delusion; and the seeds of those impositions were early sown, which afterwards ripened into monastic fraud.

When monkish tales multiplied like heathen fables, St. Bernard's mother dreamed that she had a little white barking dog within her, which, when she communicated to a religious person, he replied, "Thou shalt be the mother of an

* See L. Addison's first State of Mahumedism.

excellent dog indeed ; he shall be the hopes of God's house, and shall incessantly bark against the adversaries of it, for he shall be a famous preacher, and shall cure many by his medicinal tongue *."

Many such like dreams are recorded to have signalized the early periods of Christianity. Archbishop Laurence, who built the church of Our Lady at Canterbury, is said, when about to retire into France, under the discouragement of a persecution, to have been warned in a dream, and severely scourged by the apostle St. Peter, for wishing to forsake his flock. On the relation of the dream by the archbishop, and the sight of his stripes, Ead-bald was baptized, and became a protector of the Church †.

Nothing was more common in the superstitious ages of the Church, than the contriv-

* Francis Amboco Vit. Bernard. L. i. Heidfield in Sphing. C. 37. p. 893.

† Holinshed, B. viii. C. 24.

ance of dreams connected with the institution of religious establishments, the attainment of dignities, and the discovery of bodies and relics of apostles and martyrs, which might become the objects of lucrative veneration. There are accounts in Fulgosius of the designation of a spot at Terracina for a convent, of the promise of the popedom to Eugenius IV. and Nicolaus V. and of other revelations by dreams, none of which seem to have been of so much importance as that made by the apostle St. Andrew to Peter Pontanus, a simple man, who was instructed by the apostle to find at Antioch the spear which pierced our Saviour's side; in the confidence of which instrument, carried by a bishop, the city, which was besieged by the Persians, and half famished, was extricated from distress, and obtained a victory over Caiban, the Persian general.

Monica, the mother of St. Austin, being distressed with the idea that her son was a Manichean, derived consolation from a dream,

in which she fancied that she stood upon a wooden rule; and that, on being questioned by a young man of glorious appearance concerning the cause of the sorrow with which she was oppressed, she answered, that it was for her son, now hanging on the verge of destruction: upon which she was commanded to take courage, for that she should see her son upon the same rule with herself, as happened by his conversion.*.

Another relation, still more curious, is given by Fulgosius, who relates, that Natalis, a martyr, having fallen into the heresy of Theodotion, which represented Jesus as a mere man, and having been, notwithstanding, consecrated a bishop, was, after many fruitless admonitions in sleep, at length severely chastised by an angel; and by this salutary discipline effectually converted to the catholic faith.

* Fulgos.

Another tale, equally ridiculous, but more probable, is furnished by the same author, concerning John, an Egyptian monk, who retired into solitude with the resolution to shun all intercourse with women; but being entreated by a Roman tribune to visit his wife, he agreed to appear to her in a dream, as he accordingly did the following night.

The appearance of St. Ambrose to direct the discovery of the bodies of Gervasius and Prolasius, and of Gamaliel, who, in the reign of Honorius, brought to light that of St. Stephen and his sons; in testimony of which a festival, called the Festival of the Discovery of St. Stephen's Body, was established, must be mentioned, and may be classed under the same head.

The dreams which contributed to raise the reputation of saints, "formed to fancy visions and phantoms, and report them," and to impose on the credulity of their votaries, were so numerous and trifling, that it would be a

fruitless waste of time to analyze their distinct character.

In our own country, St. Dunstan was marvellously addicted to dreams and visions, and though they do not appear to have been particularly edifying, they were very profitable to himself; since Holinshed informs us, that "through declaring of his dreams and visions he obtained, in the time of king Edgar, first, the bishopric of Worcester, afterwards of London, and last of all the archbishopric of Canterbury*."

On the other hand, dreams had sometimes a contrary effect; for the same author informs us, that Richard de Havering resigned the archbishopric of Dublin for reflections on a dream, which led him to consider, that he received the revenues of his see, and had suf-

* Holinshed. vol. ii. B. 7. p. 165.

ferred his flock to starve for want of preaching*.

We are not to suppose, that spurious visions were peculiar to the Romish Church, since many pious frauds, with respect to dreams, were fabricated and countenanced in superstitious times, even by those who designed to support the reformation of existing abuses. Art was in those cases opposed to art; but it was to the credit of the leading restorers of true religion in this and other countries, that they ridiculed and disclaimed such assistance, and, under the final influence of the reformed faith, "refused profane and old wives' fables, exercising themselves rather unto godliness;" putting to flight dreams, omens, ghosts, and hobgoblins, disenchanting castles, and exorcising, at length, only by reason and true phi-

* Holinshed's Description of Ireland, Ch. 5.

losophy, church-yards, haunted houses, and possessed persons *.

As specimens of the dreams before alluded to, we shall mention some which, both under the Romish and reformed periods, have been fabricated by superstition or imposture.

The night before William II. was killed, a monk dreamed that he saw the king guaw with his teeth the image of Christ crucified, and that as he was about to bite away the legs of the same image, Christ with his feet spurned him to the ground; that as he lay there issued from his mouth a flame of fire and abundance of smoke. This being related to the king by Robert Fitz-Hammon, he made a jest of it, saying, " This monk would fain have something for his dream: go, give him an hundred shillings, but bid him look that he dream more auspicious dreams

* Hutchinson on Witchcraft, p. 31.

hereafter." Notwithstanding also these and other warnings, he went out to hunt in the New Forest, though somewhat moved. He had stayed in all the forenoon, till an artificer brought him six cross-bow arrows, very strong and sharp, whereof he kept four, and delivered two to Sir Walter Tyrrel, a knight of Normandy, his bow-bearer, saying, " Here, Tyrrel, take your two, for you know how to shoot them to a good purpose." The event is well known; the king was accidentally killed by Sir Walter Tyrrel's arrow*.

Holinshed relates, that Henry Beauclerk, the brother of Rufus, had a warning which contributed to his safety.

Dreams multiplied with the dangers which assailed the Romish power. Pope Innocent IV. is said to have dreamed, that Robert

* Baker's Chronicle, p. 53, 54. Wanley's Wonders, B. iv. C. 52.

Grosthed, bishop of Lincoln, came to him, and with his staff struck him on the side, saying, "*Surge, miser, et veni in judicium*,"—"Rise, wretch, and come to judgment." This dream, indeed, might very probably have occurred, as it was not extraordinary, that the pope's fears must have been alarmed by the contagious principles of hostility which this innovator was propagating in a country so lucrative to the see of Rome. The pope is said to have died a few days after; the agitation occasioned by the dream might possibly have accelerated his death*.

Thomas Aquinas, who is called the Evangelical Doctor, is said to have accustomed himself, by abstract speculation, to fall into ecstacy, becoming to all appearance dead, and gaining the knowledge of abstruse things and mysteries†. This report might have been

* Ship. Ch. Hist. Cent. 13. p. 449.

† Zuingle Theat. L. iii. p. 223.

framed in reference to the abstracted studies and discoveries of the saint, and believed from regard to his extraordinary character ; but notwithstanding the general merit which has been ascribed by his admirers to his writings, we need not the spleen of Luther to dispute their inspiration.

The night before Henry II. of France was slain, his queen is related to have dreamed, that she saw her husband's eye put out, which afterwards happened in a tournament, in which he engaged in spite of the entreaties of his wife, by a splinter from a broken lance of a knight, named Montgomery, which occasioned the death of the king. It is further reported, that a little before this event the king, on hearing a distinguished counsellor, Ann du Bourg, plead in defence of the Protestant religion, and against persecution, with a strong address to himself, was so incensed as to cause him to be apprehended and imprisoned, protesting to him in these words: " These eyes of mine shall see thee burnt." During this time great

feasts were preparing at court for the marriage of the king's daughter and sister. The day being arrived, the king employed the morning in examining the president and other counselors against Du Bourg, and others charged with the same doctrines, intending to glut his eyes with their execution : but that very afternoon he received the fatal blow in his right eye, which killed him in eleven days *.

This story might possibly be the pious invention of the Huguenots, to intimate God's resentment against persecutors. Bacon, however, informs us, that, when in France, he heard from Dr. Pena, that the queen mother, who was given to curious arts, had caused the king's nativity to be calculated under a feigned name, and laughed at their judgment when informed that he should be killed in a duel, thinking that his station raised him above that danger *.

* Clark's Martyr.

† Bacon's Works, vol. iii. p. 553.

James V. who wished to discountenance the Reformation, which broke out in Scotland about 1541, denounced persecution against its advocates, and even against his own sons, if they should engage in the cause. Sir James Hamilton, who was suspected of a bias to the party, was falsely accused of preaching against the king's life, and in consequence executed. Soon afterwards the king at Linlithgow saw, in his sleep, Thomas Scott, the justice's clerk, surrounded by devils, lamenting that he had been employed in a persecution which had now subjected him to torment.

It is added, that Scott died on the next day, and that he expired, declaring that he was condemned by God's righteous judgment. James is said to have been disturbed with other dreams, the effect of a guilty conscience *.

* Spotswood's Hist. of the Church of Scotland.

The enthusiastic dreams by which fanatic or designing men have dared to boast of divine revelations, whether for the advancement of political or religious interests, or for the purposes of personal ambition, deserve to be strongly reprobated as impious and shocking. Among the most remarkable persons in the present age, who have laid claim to such inspiration, is Paul Emanuel Swedenburg, whose pretended visions have been employed to support the extravagant effusions of an eccentric and bewildered imagination, betraying the vanities of self-deception, or the vile contrivance of fraud, and serving but to buoy up his foolish followers with delusive conceits, while they violate the precepts and positive ordinances of Christianity.

These prophane follies, after the transient infatuation shall have vanished, which has lifted up some fickle and wayward minds, even in this philosophical country, will be as much forgotten, as are the fantastic inventions, visions, and prophecies, of Dubricius Comenius

and Hotter *, who flourished on the same soil.

There is a great similarity in the measures adopted by fanatical men in every age, and we are, therefore, not surprised to find Wesley maintaining, that his followers experienced remission of sins and conversions in their dreams. "What I have to say," says this canting enthusiast, "touching visions or dreams, is this: I know several persons in whom this great change was wrought in a dream, as during a strong representation to the eye of the mind of Christ, either on the cross, or in history, this is the fact." He afterwards, however, admits, that they are of a doubtful and disputable nature, and might be from God, or might not †.

* Wesley's Journal from Aug. 12, 1738, to Nov. 1, 1739, p. 49, and Warburton's Doctrine of Grace, p. 171, C. 12.

† Ibid. p. 60, 61.

The dreams of Avarice have seldom been productive of much good. A rich man in Wales, having dreamed three nights successively, that there was a chain of gold hidden under the head-stone of a well, named St. Bernard's Well, went to the place, and putting his hand into the hole, it was bitten by an adder * : and, not many years since, as the interesting recluses of Llangollen would testify; a deluded cobbler was digging, in consequence of a dream, among the ruins of the castle of Dinas-Brune, which overhangs the vale, in search of gold.

The pride of controversy has produced its dreams : Bradwarden, in his once-famous book *De Causâ Dei*, tells us of a dream that he had in the night, when writing in confutation of Pelagius. In this dream he fancied, that he was caught into the air, and that Pelagius took hold of and cast him down head-

* Holinshed, vol. ii. Ch. 42.

long; but that, after much struggling, he himself had prevailed, and cast down Pelagius, so that he broke his neck; whereby the controversialist was comforted and encouraged to finish his work*.

Objects of taste and antiquarian research have been promoted, it should seem, by dreams. Mons. Pierre, Counsellor of Parliament of Provence, going from Montpellier to Nîmes with James Rancis, is said to have collected from his companion's dreams where he might purchase a Julius Cæsar in gold for four crowns.

The author cannot explain by what prophetic sagacity Lady Seymour dreamed, when a maiden, that she found a nest with nine finches in it, and which is said to have been verified when she married the earl of Win-

* Roscoe's Life of Lorenzo de Medici, vol. ii. p. 253, Ch. 10.

chelsea, whose name was Finch, and by whom she had nine children.

A dream of somewhat similar cast is related to have happened to the mother of the celebrated Sir Thomas More, which I shall give without comment, in the words of Sir Thomas More, who was grandson to the chancellor, and a rigid adherent of the Romish church: "Dr. Clement," says he, quoting seemingly the account from Stapleton, "reporteth from Sir Thomas his own mouth, a vision which she had the next night after her marriage, in which she saw in her sleep, as it were engraven in her wedding ring, the number and favour of all her children she was to have, whereof the face of one was so dark and obscure, that she could not well discern it; and indeed afterwards she suffered of one of her children an untimely delivery; but the face of one of her other she beheld shining most gloriously, whereof no doubt Sir Thomas his fame and sanctity was foreshewed and presignified*.

* Life of Sir Thomas More, p. 55.

CHAPTER XI.

ON OTHER DREAMS RELATED IN MODERN
ACCOUNTS.

There are people I know who have so great a regard to every fancy of their own, that they can believe their very dreams.—*Shaftesbury's Moralists*.

THE general theory to which the author is inclined is, that no dreams, excepting those involved with the history of revelation, have any necessary connection with, or can afford any assistance towards discovering the scenes of futurity. At the same time he cannot but confess that there are many accounts supported on great authorities, which militate against this opinion, and that sometimes almost shake his convictions; that he may not appear to decide on partial grounds, and that every one may have an opportunity of judging, he will

proceed to furnish some of the most remarkable dreams in more modern time, which have been thought to have the strongest claims to be regarded as prophetic, and which, as they have had no relation to prevailing systems, cannot be attributed to superstitious imposture, taking them generally in the order of time, and not meaning to attach any particular importance to those which may be first related.

A citizen of Milan being asked for a debt as owing by his dead father, beheld in his sleep, when in trouble thereat, the image of his father, which informed him that the debt was paid in his life-time, and directed him where to find an acknowledgment signed by the creditor, which was produced, and which St. Austin professed to have seen *.

Petrarch is said to have dreamed that a friend, who was dangerously ill, appeared to him, and

* Fulgos. L. i. C. 5. P. 130.

signified that there was a person at hand who could cure him, and desired Petrarch to recommend him to his attention. A physician soon afterwards entered Petrarch's room, who had come from the sick man in despair of his recovery, but on the intercession of Petrarch returned, and ere long restored the patient*.

This account, probably, took its rise from Petrarch's merely dreaming that a physician might cure his friend, as he accordingly did; and the marvellous arises from the mistatement of the story, which with many other extraordinary relations is collected in Wanley's Wonders, a compilation in which wonderful tales are industriously scraped together, and given with names and apparent authorities which impose on credulity.

"Conditi," says Mr. Roscoe, "relates an extraordinary story respecting Piero, the son

* Fulgos. L. i. c. 5. p. 134.

of Lorenzo de Medici, communicated to him by Michelagnolo, who had, it seems, formed an intimacy with one Cardieri, an Improvisatore, who frequented the house of Piero, and amused his evenings with singing to the lute. Soon after the death of Lorenzo, Cardieri informed Michelagnolo, that Lorenzo had appeared to him habited only in a black and ragged mantle thrown over his naked limbs, and had ordered him to acquaint Piero de Medici that he would in a short time be banished from Florence. Cardieri, who seems judiciously to have feared the resentment of the living more than that of the dead, declined the office; but soon afterwards Lorenzo entering his chamber at midnight awoke him, and reproaching him with his inattention, gave him a violent blow on the cheek. Having communicated the account of this second visit to his friend, who advised him no longer to delay his errand, he sat out for Careggi, where Piero then resided; but meeting him with his attendants about midway between that place and Florence, he there delivered his message to

the great amusement of Piero and his followers ; one of whom, Bernardo Divizio, afterwards Cardinal Da Bibbiena, sarcastically asked him, whether if Lorenzo had been desirous of giving information to his son, it was likely he would have preferred such a messenger to a personal communication." The biographer adds with great solemnity, " the vision of Cardieri, or diabolical delusion, or divine prediction, or strong imagination, whatever it might be, was verified * ;" but " the awful spectre is now before me," says the author of the Life of Lorenzo, " I see the terrified musician start from his slumbers, his left hand grasps his beloved lyre, whilst with his right thrown over his head he attempts to shroud himself from the looks of Lorenzo, who with a countenance more in sorrow than in anger points out to him his destined mission. To realize this scene, so as to give it interest and effect, would

* La Vision del Cardieri, &c.

require the glowing imagination, and the animated pencil of a Fuseli*."

On no occasions, however, have dreams been so frequently reported, and so readily received, as those which have been supposed to be connected with impending death, and when God seems still "to open the ears of men, and sealeth their instruction, that he may withdraw man from his purpose, and hide pride from man, keeping back his soul from the pit, and his life from perishing by the sword†." And if upon any occasions supernatural interference is to be admitted, it certainly must be where objects of such moment are concerned.

Alexander the philosopher, who had the reputation of being free from superstition, reports of himself, that sleeping one night at a

* Roscoe's *Life of Lorenzo de Medici*, vol. ii. p. 253, C. 10.

† Job xxxiii. 16, 18.

place which was distant a day's journey from the residence of his mother, he beheld the solemnization of her funeral. The dream being mentioned to many, and the time punctually observed, certain intelligence was brought to him on the succeeding day, that at the same hour his dream happened, his mother expired*.

Jovius relates that, A. D. 1523, Sfortia dreamed in a morning slumber, that having fallen into a river he was in great danger of being drowned, and that on calling for assistance to a man of extraordinary stature who was on the further side of the shore, he was by him slighted and neglected. He related the dream to his wife and servants; on the same day seeing a child fall into a river near the castle of Pescara, he leaped into the river with design to save the child, but being overburdened with the weight of his armour, he was choaked in the mud and perished†.

* Wanley's Wonders, B. 6. C. 8. Was he an ancient or modern?

† Heywood's Hierarch. L. iv. p. 224.

Pope Gregory speaks of a monk who in a dream foresaw his own death, together with that of many other members of his monastery, as likewise that of some sisters of a neighbouring convent: but monasteries were the scenes of fiction.

The Bishop of Lombes, who was the intimate friend of Petrarch, pressed him in the most earnest manner to visit him at Lombes, Petrarch had promised to go the beginning of the year following, and had even formed the project of settling entirely near his amiable friend, when he received the melancholy news that the bishop was dangerously ill at Lombes. This information alarmed him exceedingly: he fluctuated between fear and hope, "One night in my sleep," says Petrarch, "I thought I saw the bishop walking alone, and crossing the stream that watered my garden. I ran to him, and asked him a thousand questions at once. From whence came you? Where are you going so fast? Why are you alone? The bishop replied with a smile, 'Do you recollect

the summer you passed with me on the other side the Garonne? The climate and the manners of Gascony displeased you, and you found the storms of the Pyrennees insupportable. I now think as you did. I am weary of it myself. I have bid adieu to this barbarous country, and am returning to Rome.' He had continued to walk on while he spake these words, and was got to the end of the garden, I attempted to join him, and begged that I might at least be permitted the honour of accompanying him, the bishop gently put me back with his hand, and changing his countenance and the tone of his voice, 'No,' said he, 'you must not come with me at present.' After having said this he looked steadfastly at me, and then it was that I saw on his face all the signs of death. The sudden shock of this sight caused me to cry aloud, and awaked me from my sleep; I marked the day, and related the circumstances to the friends I had at Parma, and wrote an account of it to my other friends in many different places. Five-and-twenty days after this I received the

mournful news that the Bishop of Lombes was dead, and found that he died on the very day that I had seen him in vision in my garden.” —“This singular accident,” says he to John Andre, “gives me no more faith in dreams than Cicero had, who, as well as myself, had a dream confirmed by the event *.”

Henry the third of France is related to have had a dream predictive of his unfortunate fate at St. Cloud, but which does not appear to have been attended with any more use; and Louis of Bourbon, Prince of Condè, who lived in the seventeenth century, is said to have dreamed, that after having gained three successive victories, and defeated his great enemies, he should be mortally wounded, and his dead body laid on theirs; as came to pass, for the Marshal de St. André was killed at Dreux, the Duke of Guise, Francis Lorrain, at Orleans; the constable Montmorency at St. Denys; the

* Mrs. Dobson's Life of Petrarch, vol. i. p. 183.

triumvirate that had sworn the destruction of the prince and his religion; at last he himself was slain at Bassac.

Pere Matthieu tells us that the queen of Henry the Fourth of France waking in the night some little time before the assassination of her husband, in great agitation, the king enquired the cause; she said that she had been dreaming that somebody stabbed him with a knife on the staircase. "Thank God," says the king, "it is only a dream." Henry was so impressed by those and other prognostics which are represented to have foreboded his fate, that he was desirous of postponing the coronation of the queen, and at length consented with reluctance and apprehension to indulge her wishes, and assist at the ceremony; of which an interesting account may be seen in Sully's Memoirs.

Monsieur Cameron relates of Monsieur Calignan, Chancellor of Navarre, that he was warned at Bearn three times by a voice which

addressed him in sleep, admonishing him to leave the town a few days before the plague raged there.

There are many dreams of this description mentioned in the history of our country, some of the principal of which we shall notice.

Holinshed relates that a dream was imparted to Elstic, in which Edmund appeared to fall asleep amidst his courtiers at an entertainment, and which was interpreted by St. Dunstan to have predicted the death of the king *. St. Dunstan himself was favoured with visions upon the same subject.

Alfred, when compelled by the Danes to take refuge in Idlingsay, in the marshes of Somersetshire, fancied, it is stated †, that he saw St. Cuthbert in his sleep, who encouraged him in his despondency with the promise that

* B. v. C. 24.

† Holinshed, B. vi. C. 14.

he should soon recover his kingdom to the confusion of his enemies, assuring him in testimony of the promise, that some of his fishermen who were employed with their nets, should procure a considerable draught of fish though the river was frozen at the time, both of which events speedily came to pass. The story originated, probably, in some reflections which raised the confidence of Alfred, or was contrived by him, as well as a similar dream attributed to his mother, to enliven his followers.

When Rollo the Dane being defeated by Alfred had left England, his brother in law was admonished by his mother not to engage in his cause, but persisting he was killed*.

It was easy to invent dreams when a religious sanction was required to political designs, as when the lineage of the Kings of England was

* See Conquest of Ireland, p. 27. C. 42.

in a manner extinct, and the question of the succession much agitated, a person named Brightwold, a man of Glastonbury, afterwards Bishop of Winchester, being much employed on this subject, dreamed that he saw St. Peter consecrate and anoint Edward, son of Egelred; then remaining an exile in Normandy, to be King of England; and on demanding of St. Peter who should succeed Edward, he was directed by the apostle to take no thought of these matters, for the kingdom of England was the peculiar care of God*.

Edgiva, the mother of Adelstan by Edward King of Mercia, was predisposed to surrender herself to the king, by dreaming that a moon ascended from her, which, by its splendour, enlightened all England†. She seems to have been inclined to rival some of the ladies of antiquity who had the same royal presages, and

* Holinshed, Chron. i.

† Holinshed, vol. ii. B. 6. p. 153.

though of base parentage was, it seems, brought up in the expectation of some great fortune.

The same historian tells us that William Rufus not long before his being killed in the New Forest, dreamed that the veins of his arm were broken, and that the blood issued out in great abundance.

Holinshed also informs us that Henry I. when in Normandy, was "troubled with certain strange dreams, or visions, in his sleepe, for as he thought he saw a multitude of ploughmen with such tooles as belong to their trade and occupation, and after whom came a sort of souldiers with warlike weapons, and last of all bishops approaching towards him with their crosier staves ready to fall upon him as if they meant to kill him." These were the perturbations of a mind apprehensive of the effect of measures which had probably alienated the affection of his subjects; they are reported by the historian to have affected him, and under the admonition of his friends, to have operated to

his amendment *; and the historian comparing his conduct with that of William Rufus, considers metaphysical dreams as having "a special influence from above nature's reach," and as designed to operate as warnings.

The same author also relates that after the death of the esteemed Earl of Arundel who was executed by order of Richard the Second, the king, as the fame went, was sore vexed in his sleepe with horrible dreames, imagining that he saw this earle appeare unto him threatening him and putting him in horrible fear, as if he had said with the poet to Richard:

" I come the ghost of him thy crimes who knew,
And with my death-like form thy steps pursue †."

With which visions being sore troubled he
" cursed the daie that he ever knew the earle ‡."

* Holinshed's Chron. vol. i. p. 44.

† So Ovid : Nunc quoque factorum, &c.

‡ Holinshed's Chron. vol. ii. p. 492.

The historian informs us that his half-brother, Walter Barrie, being about to undertake a military expedition, was warned, as he supposed, by his mother-in-law then dead, to forbear the journey, but persisting he was killed on the day that he set off*.

Holinshed relates, that the design of an Irishman to murder Hugh de Lacy was defeated by the measures taken in consequence of a dream imparted to one Griffith, and that the traitor was slain†.

The same author reports that a fame had spread that Richard the Third, the night preceding the battle of Bosworth Field, which terminated his reign and his life, "had a dreadfull and terrible dreame, for it seemed to him being asleepe that he did see diverse images like terrible devils which pulled and haled him, not suffering him to take any quiet or rest; the

* Holinshed, C. 42.

† Id. vol. ii. C. 40. 41.

which strange vision not only so suddenly struck his heart with fear, but it stuffed his head, and troubled his mind with many hazy and dreadful imaginations, for incontinent after, his heart being almost damped, he prognosticated before the doubtful chance of the battle to come, not using the alacritie and mirth of mind and countenance as he was accustomed to do, before he came toward the battle; and least that it might be suspected that he was abashed for feare of his enemies, and for that cause looked so piteously, he recited and declared to his familiar friends, in the morning, his wonderful vision and fearful dreame; upon which the historian well observes, but I think this was no dream, but a punction and pricke of his sinful conscience, for the conscience is so much more charged and aggrieved as the offence is greater, and more heinous in degree, (so that King Richard by this reckoning must needs have a wonderful troubled mind, because the deeds that he had done, as they were heinous and unnatural, so did they excite and stirre up extraordinarie notions of trouble and

verations in his conscience,) which sting of conscience, although it strike not alwaie, yet at the last day of extreme life, it is wont to show and represent to us our faults and offences, and the pains and punishments which hang over our heads for the committing of the same, to the intent that at that instant we for our deserts being penitent and repentant may be compelled, lamenting, and bewailing our sins like forsakers of this world, joynd to depart out of this mischeefe life *."

The night before the arrest and execution of Lord Hastings, who was beheaded by the protector, afterwards Richard the Third, Lord Stanlye sent a trustie messenger unto him at midnight in all the haste, requiring him to rise and ride away with him, for he was disposed utterly no longer to bide, he had so fearful a dreame, in which him thought that a boare with his tusches so rased them by the heads,

* Holinshed, vol. i. p. 785.

that the blood ran about both their shoulders; and forasmuch as the Protector gave the boare for his cognisance, this dreame made so fearful an impression on his heart that he was thoroughly determined no longer to tarie, but had his horse readie if the Lord Hastings would go with him to ride yet so farre the same night, that they should be out of danger per daie. "Ha! good Lord," quoth the Lord Hastings to this messenger, "leaneth my lord thy master so much to such trifles, and hath such faith in dreames which either his own feare fantasieth, or do rise in the night's rest by reason of his daies thoughts. Tell him it is plaine witchcraft to believe in such dreames, which if they were token of things to come, why thinketh he not that we might be as likelie to make them true by our going, if we were caught and brought backe as friends faile fliers, for then had the boare a cause likelie to rase us with his tusks as folke that fled for some falsehood, wherefore either is there perile, or none there is indeed, or if anie be, it is rather in going than biding; and in case we should needs fall in perill one

waie or other, yet had I rather that men should see that it were by other men's falsehood, than thinke it were either by our owne fault, or fainte heart; and, therefore, go to thy master (man) and comend me to him, and praie him be merie and have no feare, for I insure him I am as sure of the man that he woteth of (meaning Catesby, who deceived him, and suggested his removal) as I am of my own hand*."

If we receive the account of Shakespeare derived from ancient chronicles, the Duke of Clarence before his execution

" Past a miserable night,
Full of ugly sights of ghastly dreams,"

some of which the poet has described with much power of fancy.

Bishop Jewel is said to have dreamed in Queen Mary's time, that two of his teeth

* Holinshed, vol. i. p. 723.

dropped out; and as he soon afterwards heard of the burning of Ridley and Hooper, the dream was regarded as prophetic of his loss on that sad occasion.

It is related also in the book of Martyrs, that in Queen Mary's time when persecution raged against the Protestants, Mr. Rough, who presided over a congregation which assembled secretly in London, and had the superintendence of the poor, was in possession of a roll containing the names of the congregation. It happened one night that Mr. Cuthbert Simpson dreamed that Mr. Rough was taken, and the roll in his pocket. Falling asleep again he had the same dream, upon which being affected, he rose up with intention to go to Mr. Rough, but before he got ready Mr. Rough came into his room, to whom he told his dream, and desired him to dispose of the catalogue, that it might not be found on him; Rough reproved him for his fancy, but Simpson adjured him in the name of God, as he would answer for the mischief which might

befal the innocent, so that at length he consented; and within two or three days he was taken, and the book rescued.

The compiler of a book of dreams relates, that in the time of the civil wars his grandfather, an officer in the army at Windsor, dreamed that his wife appeared to him saying, "I am no man's wife, but haste to London and take care of your children;" and that in riding to town he received the account of his wife's death.

There are many dreams which must be considered as the *agri somnia*, the illusions of a disorder which terminates in death, as Crescentinus, the pope's legate at Trent, fancied one night in which he was employed late in writing, that he saw a vast dog with flaming eyes and long ears reaching almost to the ground, and falling sick died raving against the dog*.

* Winstley's Wonders.

That murderers should have dreams when their minds are harassed by guilty fears, is but what might be expected; and if we could be induced to consider dreams as suggested by God for the ordinary purposes of his moral government, it would be where murders have been discovered by dreams.

In Baker's Chronicle it is related that Ann Waters, seduced by a lover, consented to the strangling of her husband, then buried him in a dung-hill in the cow-house. One of the neighbours dreamt that Waters was strangled, and buried in a cow-house; whereupon a search was instituted, and the woman apprehended, confessed, and was burned.

In the year 1553 Nicholas Wotton, Dean of Canterbury, being then ambassador in France, dreamed that his nephew, Thomas Wotton, was inclined to be a party in such a project, that if he was not suddenly prevented, would turn to the loss of his life, and ruin of his family. The night following he dreamed

the same again, and knowing that it had no dependence upon his waking thoughts, much less upon the desires upon his heart, he did then more seriously consider it; and resolved to use so prudent a remedy (by way of prevention) as might introduce no great inconvenience to either party. And to this end he wrote to the queen (Queen Mary) and besought her, that she would cause his nephew, Thomas Wotton, to be sent for out of Kent; and that the lords of her council might interrogate him in some such feigned questions, as might give a colour for his commitment unto a favourable prison, declaring that he would acquaint her majesty with the true reason of his request, when he should next become so happy as to see and speak with her majesty. It was done as the uncle desired, and Mr. Wotton sent to prison. At this time a marriage was concluded betwixt our Queen Mary and Philip King of Spain, which divers persons did not only declare against, but raised forces to oppose; of this number Sir Thomas Wyat, of Boxley Abbey, in Kent) betwixt whose family and

that of the Wottons there had been an ancient and entire friendship) was the principal actor; who having persuaded many of the nobility and gentry (especially of Kent) to side with him; and being defeated and taken prisoner was arraigned, condemned, and lost his life; so did the Duke of Suffolk and divers others, especially many of the gentry of Kent, who were then in several places executed as Wyat's assistants: and of this number, in all probability, had Mr. Wotton been, if he had not been confined; for though he was not ignorant that another man's treason is made his own by concealing it, yet he durst confess to his uncle when he returned into England, and came to visit him in prison, that he had more than an intimation of Wyat's intention, and thought that he should not have actually continued innocent if his uncle had not so happily dreamed him into a prison; out of which place when he was delivered by the same hand that caused his confinement, they both considered dreams more seriously, and then both joined in praising God for it. That God who has himself no

rules either in preventing of evil, or in shewing mercy to those whom of his good pleasure he hath chosen to love *.

The family of Wotton was famous for dreams.

Thomas Wotton, nephew of the celebrated Nicholas Wotton, Dean of Canterbury, and ambassador to France, dreamed in Kent, not long before his death, that the treasury of the University of Oxford had been robbed by some townsmen and poor scholars, five in number. He mentioned it in a postscript to a letter the same day to his son Henry, then at Oxford; and the letter arrived the morning after the robbery, and by means of the communication the persons were detected.

Both Nicolas and Thomas Wotton, who

* Isaac Walton's Life of Sir Henry Wotton.

were men of holy lives, are reported by Walton to have foretold the days of their death*.

Strada relates, that the night preceding the execution of Mary Queen of Scots, when Elisabeth was kept awake by the agitation of her mind, an attendant lady who slept in her room being awakened by a dream, cried out that she saw Mary Stewart beheaded, and soon after her own mistress struck with the same hatchet: upon which Elisabeth, who had been distracted by the same images, being terrified, dispatched an express to Fotheringay to order the execution to be deferred; unhappily for Mary, the messenger did not arrive till four hours after the execution. The dreams were but the natural effects of the cruel resolution which Elisabeth had adopted†.

Sir Francis Bacon tells us in his Natural History, that being at Paris he told several

* See Isaac Walton's Life of Sir Henry Wotton, p. 20.

† De Bello Belgico, L. ii.

gentlemen there that he dreamed that his father's house in the country was plastered all over with black and mortar, and two or three days after his father died in London.

Thomas Winter, one of the sanguinary bigots who was concerned in the Gunpowder Plot, on retiring to Staffordshire with the rest of the conspirators, was, with some of his associates, scorched by the explosion of some gunpowder to such a degree, as to be incapable of assisting in the defence of the party when attacked ; and upon this occasion is said to have recalled a dream in which a little before he had imagined, that he had seen steeples and churches standing awry, and within these churches strange and unknown figures ; and which he represented to have exhibited to him countenances disfigured, like those of Grant, Rockwood, and other of his colleagues*.

* Caulfield's Portraits, p. 111.

The dream was such as was likely to occur to a mind engaged in such a project, and it would have appeared equally verified if the diabolical scheme against the king and parliament had succeeded.

END OF VOL. I.

UNIV. OF MICHIGAN,

JUL 3 1912

Law and Gillett, Printers, St. John's-Square, Clerkenwell.

